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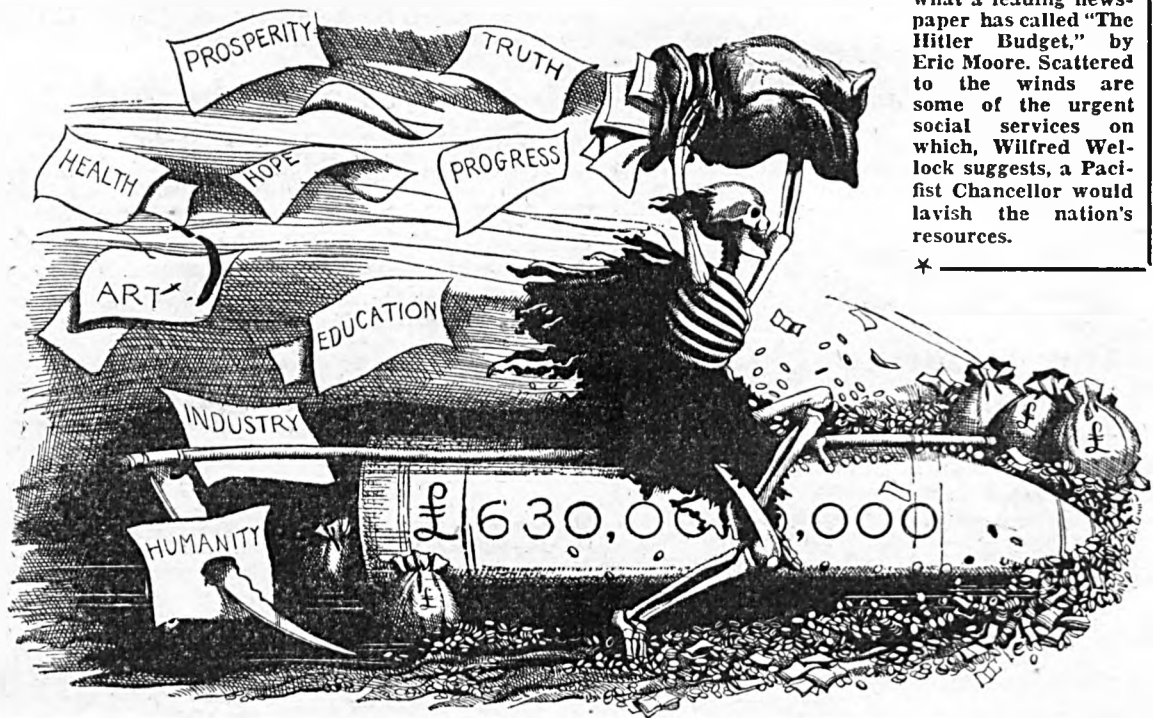
How a Pacifist Would Spend That £630,000,000

Goodbye to all that!

HEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE THE FIRST CHARGE ON THE NATION'S RESOURCES

ON Tuesday Sir John Simon introduced the largest Budget ever introduced in Britain in peace-time. Out of a proposed expenditure of £1,322,444,000 for the coming year, no less than £627,783,000 will be devoted to preparations for creating death and destruction.

If this vast sum can be found for such a senseless purpose, it could be found for increasing human health and happiness. How would a pacifist Chancellor of the Exchequer budget with that purpose in view? The question is answered in the following article by Wilfred Wellock.



★ . . . An impression of what a leading newspaper has called "The Hitler Budget," by Eric Moore. Scattered to the winds are some of the urgent social services on which, Wilfred Wellock suggests, a Pacifist Chancellor would lavish the nation's resources.

ONE of the supreme lessons which the pacifist should learn from the militarist is the need for audacity and daring. The militarist is never bashful; he stops at nothing.

If the militarist believes that £630,000,000 a year is not too much to pay for peace through power, why should the pacifist ask for less to secure peace through a more just distribution of life's fulness?

This latest militarist Budget, introduced on Tuesday by Sir John Simon, is the financial counterpart of the Government's political and economic policy. It provides for an expenditure of £630,000,000 on the means of "defence."

The Choice

Now if you accept the war system at all, you cannot escape that expenditure. You must therefore choose between maximum expenditure on militarism or no militarism at all. But if the latter, you must abandon power politics and the monopolies which they seek to buttress.

Obviously, therefore, a pacifist Budget must be a counterpart of a pacifist international policy.

Thus, prior to introducing its first Budget, a pacifist Government would have startled the world by a declaration that it was sick and tired of living in a state of perpetual fear and suspense, of wasting the nation's substance, its health, strength, leisure and, above all, its ability to enjoy life, in a vain effort to defend things that were not

worth defending—privilege and monopoly: that it was the game of lunatics to try to corner the earth's abundance when science had made it possible for the reasonable needs of every nation to be satisfied; that the genius which was now being expended on the means of human destruction could, were the nations to co-operate, solve every economic problem which confronted the world today; and that if only some State had the common sense to say what millions in every land were thinking, and to act upon its words, a transformed world might soon come into being.

A New Policy

Following that declaration, discussion would have been invited of the problem of the distribution of the world's surplus commodities. A committee of world experts would have been called for. Another committee would have been called to consider ways and means of taking (continued on back page)

**George Lansbury to those who will
be "Called to the Colours":**

"STAND FIRM!"

THE following words from an article by Mr. George Lansbury in *Peace News* a month ago (after the German invasion of the Czech State) might well be regarded as a message to the hundreds of thousands of young men who will be affected by the introduction of conscription:

"To those of you who are pledged not to take part in any war, and, should conscription come, may possibly find yourselves before a military court, I can only ask you to think long and patiently about your attitude. . .

"Whoever you are, wherever you are, you will not really be alone. We who are old, who dare not advise or make your choice for you, will nevertheless, once your decision is made, be with

you to the end, at least in the comradeship of thought. . .

"Now I am old, the problem will not be presented to me as it is to you who are young. I want you to understand where the Peace Pledge may lead you, and if, after proper thought and consideration, you are sure of your ground then stick to it to the end."

Referees Say Pacifist Deserved Dismissal

PENALTY: NO BENEFIT FOR SIX WEEKS

A LOCAL Court of Referees has rejected the appeal of a pacifist who was denied unemployment benefit after being dismissed for refusing to participate in his firm's ARP drill.

As was reported in our issue of March 31, Mr. A. E. Bayntun, leader of the Edmonton Group of the Peace Pledge Union, was victimised, because of his convictions, by his employers, Messrs. Reeves, colourmen, of Dalston, London. He had been twelve years in their service.

Mr. Bayntun was refused unemployment benefit at the Ponders End Labour Exchange following information given by the firm regarding the circumstances of his dismissal.

"Misconduct"

The court of referees, by a majority of one, upheld the exchange last Thursday. Mr. Bayntun's attitude to ARP is thus classed as misconduct, involving a penalty of loss of unemployment benefit for six weeks.

The Court's decision was as follows:—
The Court finds that the claimant by his conduct brought about his own dismissal in circumstances amounting to misconduct. He refused to carry out a legitimate instruction during working hours given by his employer. He was not asked (continued on p. 11)

Looking at What? . . see p. 7



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THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT



Pacifist Case in the House of Lords

By R.M.B.

THE Lords last week overshadowed the Commons in importance, for once, when Viscount Cecil initiated a debate by asking His Majesty's Government whether they could make any general statement as to the foreign policy of this country.

He pointed out that there was one school of thought which believed the right plan was to go back to the pre-War condition of affairs and to depend entirely on a policy of rearmament and alliances. The effect, Lord Cecil added, of this policy wherever it had been tried had been productive of anything but peace and good feeling among the nations.

Next there was the theory of armed isolation (apparently the defects in this particular idea were so obvious that he considered comment unnecessary), and finally the policy of pacifism. The difficulty he saw in pacifism was that there were no signs that the countries which were at present causing the chief danger to peace would accept such a policy, and one-sided pacifism was too dangerous a policy for anyone to adopt.

But Viscount Cecil admitted that in his opinion there was nothing to do now except to increase our armaments and increase our alliances. His arguments seem to answer as effectively as any pacifist's that the larger our armaments the greater the risk there is of war and that in the long run they do not make for peace at all.

Our Unfavourable Past

BUT disarmament is only one integral part of pacifism which embraces a full conception of life, the building up of a world order based on justice and love as compared with the present conception of exploitation and force.

Lord Ponsonby hit the nail on the head when, speaking after Viscount Cecil, he said the extension of our commitments all over Eastern Europe was going back to the mid-nineteenth-century policy. He (Lord Ponsonby) regarded military alliances, which had nothing to do with collective security, as most dangerous. The high horse of moral indignation did not get us anywhere. Our past might be better than others, but it was nothing to be proud about.

Lord Ponsonby was not in favour of reviving the League of Nations (which was Viscount Cecil's only counter-proposal to the one now being pursued by the Government), as that would inflame opinion in the totalitarian States unnecessarily. We had ceased to believe in it ourselves and he (Lord Ponsonby) feared from the list in President Roosevelt's message that there was to be a still greater massing of force based on nothing more than sentimentality and almost hysterical agreement with this declaration of this country's case.

We must hope that it would lead to discussion, he continued, but we had to face the fact that there was the sharpest contrast and disagreement between the two sides. We called our policy defence; they called it encirclement. We called their policy aggression; they called it restoration and consolidation. We would not accept their ideology and they would not accept ours. In those circumstances, Lord Ponsonby continued, nothing could be more unwise than recriminations. He had no doubts about President Roosevelt's good intentions, but had great doubts about his method. It looked too much like throwing out a challenge.

Government's Reply

LORD HALIFAX, replying for the Government, made a long and tedious statement in which he claimed justification for our new commitments and heavy expenditure on armaments. He also tried to prove the continued interest of this country in the League of Nations.

The Foreign Secretary declared the Government was in essential agreement with the outlook on international relationships as expressed by the Roosevelt message. It had been said that our policy must have a basis of morality, and he profoundly agreed with Viscount Cecil on this.

Now mark carefully what the Foreign Secretary said after this statement, "If, in the last resort, you are to ask people to make sacrifices and hazard their lives they will never willingly do that for any cause that fails to appeal to the highest elements in their nature. I have endeavoured to make clear that our policy has such a basis as that."

Surely hypocrisy can go no further? It looks as if the Government has already thought out "appeals to the highest elements in our natures" in order to stimulate recruiting for the armed forces and probably the enforcement of national service.

Lord Darnley managed again to get in quite a useful point of view when he said that people did not go to war in a day, but were actuated by things oppressing them for generations.

MANY readers will be sorry to know that Mr. G. Benson (Lab.) was unsuccessful, during the committee stage of the Criminal Justice Bill, in securing approval of his clause to suspend the death penalty for five years.

As the Bill has still to be reported to the House of Commons, it is not too late to urge Sir Samuel Hoare to reconsider his decision.

Two private members' Bills, in the House of Commons, on Friday received third readings, after years of parliamentary struggle. The first dealt with the ugly, and often disease-ridden, pit-heap (slag). Now controlled tipping should go a long way toward reducing these unnecessary disfigurements in the mining districts.

The other was the Access to Mountains Bill. The effect of this is to open up vast stretches of mountains and moorlands, and all nature lovers will welcome this long overdue amenity.

What Lord Ponsonby and Lord Darnley Said

FOLLOWING are extracts from the speeches of Lord Ponsonby and Lord Darnley in the debate referred to above:

Lord Ponsonby: My belief is not in any spectacular sudden move. The relief that is to come to us in these dark days will not come from any sudden blaze kindled by moral indignation, but from the modest lights of those who in the mists of the unprecedented circumstances of today, undeterred by failure or rebuff, can persist in a determined course to understand antagonistic

opinions, disentangle higher motives, carefully examine perplexing problems with a view to healing the wounds and rebuilding the ruins, above all avoiding heated words, which can only make things worse. Hot condemnation may seem to be far better. The first can only lead to eventual war; the second alone can lead to a lasting peace.

Lord Darnley: The President of the United States has certainly made a most moving appeal, which we all hope will succeed, though I am afraid I must agree with my noble friend Lord Ponsonby that it is not perhaps a good way to start a conciliation by assuming one side alone to be in the wrong, whether that is true or not. But should it fail, ought we not gravely to consider whether it should not be restarted by the Government of this country if these two axioms are true? The noble Viscount the Foreign Secretary has said several times that the Government are always ready to consider any possible solution by conciliation, but would not this Government of all Governments welcome a change to a rather more unorthodox and a quicker way of dealing with the problem? Would it not be better for all the rulers concerned only just for once to doff for a while their Parliamentary masks, and instead of arguing through diplomatic channels at a distance deal with the question in a simple human way, and be responsible only to their inner feelings of common sense, remembering the joy and relief of the whole world at the Prime Minister's triumphal return from Munich? Could not they call a meeting of all nations concerned in which all grievances, good or bad, in the past or in the future, will be mutually and sympathetically considered with the idea of removing them for the sake of humanity and its progress and ideals, so that humanity may be saved from this great horror? If it fails it will be a right action; if it wins it will be a gallant though bloodless victory.

From the Editor's Notebook

Conscription Hits the Weakest Labour's Position Pacifist Election Challenge?

THE feature of the Government's conscription proposals that must strike all fair-minded people as nothing less than cowardly is the fact that the first to suffer will be practically the youngest. Their consciences will be perhaps the least formed of any on the matter of war, and they will be least able to protect themselves again the legal and social penalties of refusal.

Moreover, they certainly have least—if indeed any—responsibility for the situation which is given as the reason for their conscription. They cannot even be blamed for having put the Government into office, and cannot now help to vote it out.

Fortunately, not inconsiderable numbers of young men of the conscription ages have already formed their consciences on the issue to the extent of pledging themselves to renounce war and never to support or sanction another. Their thousands of comrades in the Peace Pledge Union will back them up and give them all the support and encouragement they can in their refusal now of military service.

The Labour movement, too, has been ranged behind them by the National Council of Labour's statement on Tuesday, though how it can keep up opposition to conscription while supporting other war preparations it is difficult to see. Such a position would seem bound to be limited in time and effectiveness.

Opportunity for Campaign

ON the other hand, is it not conceivable that a vigorous campaign by the Labour movement against conscription, if it could be stimulated by those whose opposition is rooted in opposition to war, might even now win that great movement back to a policy for which men like KEIR HARDIE stood and for which GEORGE LANSBURY now stands?

This should be the psychological moment for most effective action by the No Conscription League and its affiliated bodies, including many branches of the Peace Pledge Union. A focal point is also provided by the Parliamentary vacancy at Caerphilly, due to the death of MORGAN

JONES, who himself worked actively with the War-time No Conscription Fellowship and served a prison sentence as a conscientious objector to military service, but who subsequently failed to maintain that attitude during the Munich crisis and over the Spanish war.

Wales is well known to be a stronghold of peace. Can the pacifist movement afford to allow this election to be left to people who support a war policy, if not conscription, without an effort being made to put a peace policy before the electors?

A Pacifist Candidate?

WHILE the Peace Pledge Union has always rightly refused to ally itself to any particular party, its Sponsors have definitely stated that, given suitable circumstances, the running of a pacifist candidate in a bye-election is not ruled out. The question is, are not these practically the ideal circumstances?

I know there are those who, knowing the division well, would certainly take that view. Such a rallying of all those who yearn for a peace which means justice and good will to all nations would be particularly welcome at this time and in that place.

Nor should the practical difficulties be insuperable. It is probable that a thoroughly experienced election agent could be found who would perform his duties on an expenses only basis, which could be kept to a minimum in a place like Caerphilly—particularly by offers of hospitality.

And there are possible candidates in comparative abundance who, with a sound alternative to the country's present policy, could command the support not only of the strong pacifist element in the constituency, but of near-pacifists too.

A Complete Pacifist

HENRY STEPHENS SALT, who has just died, aged 87, held a distinguished position in the world of thought and letters (writes E. G. SMITH). He was an uncompromising pacifist because he was an uncompromising humanitarian.

Army as Alternative to Prison

WHEN a man appeared at Westminster charged with wandering to beg or gather alms, the magistrate, Mr. Ronald Powell told him:

"The army is crying out for men. It is a scandal, to my mind, that you should choose to beg rather than do something for yourself or your country. . . . You will come before me again next Thursday. . . . If you have not joined the Army and are still loafing about doing nothing I shall send you to prison."

In a statement on behalf of the National Council for Civil Liberties, Mr. Ronald Kidd, secretary, said:

"Our objection is not that the magistrate is exceeding his legal powers, but that it is a dangerous principle that magistrates shall begin to take upon themselves to act as recruiting sergeants in this way."

Mr. Powell subsequently said his remarks had either been misreported or misunderstood, and added:

"No fit and able-bodied man of proper age can come before the Court and say there is nothing for him to do, because I know whether it is civil work or work in the service of the country, there is work to be found. That is what I meant."

Adelphi Club Concert

Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*, and *The Peasant Cantata*, by Bach, will be rendered by the Adelphi Music Club at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club (King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, W.1.) at 8.15 p.m. on May 3.

Tickets, 9d. and 1s. 6d. (reserved) are obtainable from the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club and the Secretary, Adelphi Music Club, 10 Abbey Gardens, London, N.W.8 telephone Maida Vale 4460).

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3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4

As founder and director of the Humanitarian League, he attracted the support and devotion of many who opposed cruelty in all its forms, including war, and, at the same time the, opposition and derision of not a few who regarded such complete sympathetic sensitiveness as an extremity of "crankiness."

He wrote a number of polished books including a study of SHELLEY, with whom he found much in common. The title of his autobiographical work, *Seventy Years Among Savages*, displayed alike his attitude toward life and the quality of his mind. He saw the modern English with their cult of militarism and imperialism, their devotion to blood-sports, their toleration of capital punishment, and their flesh-eating habits as so many savages who distressed and puzzled him. His enlightenment derived from no religious revelation but was centred in a strong sense of logical decency.

Those who knew him knew a gentle, faithful man who would never willingly hurt any creature by a rough action or a harsh word. Humanity hurt him a million times, but he never despaired of humanity.

The hon. secretary of the United Humanitarian League (MISS GRACE HAWKINS) writes of HENRY S. SALT:

His creed was "the Creed of Kinship—a belief that in years to come there will be a recognition of the brotherhood between man and man, between nation and nation." His advocacy of brotherhood reached out to and beyond all nations and races of men, encircling the sub-human families also. His earnest advocacy has been for a pacifism that is consistent, an all-inclusive principle of love.

Among his friends were EDWARD CARPENTER, MAHATMA GANDHI, GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, W. H. HUDSON and THOMAS HARDY.
H.S.M.

WHERE GERMANY GETS HER IRON

The figures relating to Germany's imports of pig-iron, given in last week's *Peace News*, were for metric tons.

Lagot Released: Comrades Still in Jail

NEWS FROM ABROAD



Eugène Lagot (extreme left) and three of his colleagues in Lagot's cell, La Santé Prison, Paris.

What Mr. Gandhi Demands of His Followers

"THE four days' fast set me thinking of the qualifications required in a *Satyagrahi*," writes Mr. M. K. Gandhi in his weekly paper *Harijan*. (We reported last week how he had drawn a distinction between hunger-strikes and *Satyagraha* fasts.)

"As *Satyagraha* in the form of civil disobedience is being offered or contemplated in several States, it is necessary to reiterate the qualifications," he adds.

"In *Satyagraha* it is never the numbers that count; it is always the quality, more so when the forces of violence are uppermost.

"CONVERT, NOT COERCE"

"That it is often forgotten that it is never the intention of a *Satyagrahi* to embarrass the wrong-doer. The appeal is never to his fear; it is, must be, always to his heart. The *Satyagrahi*'s object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrong-doer.

"He should avoid artificiality in all his doings. He acts naturally and from inward conviction."

Following are some of the qualifications which Mr. Gandhi considers essential for every *Satyagrahi* in India:

"He must have a living faith in God, for He is his only rock.

"He must believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and therefore have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.

"He must be leading a chaste life and be ready and willing for the sake of his cause to give up his life and his possessions.

"He must be a teetotaler and be free from the use of other intoxicants in order that his reason may be always unclouded and his mind constant.

"He should carry out the jail rules unless they are specially devised to hurt his self-respect."

"*Satyagrahi*—an active exponent of *Satyagraha*, or faith in non-violence.

American War Resisters' Conference

The tenth annual conference of the War Resisters League will be held at Northover Camp, Bound Brook, New Jersey (midway between New York and Philadelphia) during the weekend of May 19 to 21.

The general theme of the conference will be "Pacifism versus Totalitarianism," and the speakers will include: Richard B. Gregg, Rabbi Isador B. Hoffman, Devere Allen, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, Rev. A. J. Muste, Rev. John Nevin Sayre and Dr. Evan W. Thomas.

Further details are obtainable from Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, Secretary, War Resisters League, 171 West 12th Street, New York City.

£50,000 for Refugees

The New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America unanimously decided that a day's pay should be contributed by 40,000 members to non-sectarian refugee aid. It was estimated that the contributions would total \$250,000 (more than £50,000).

MEN WHOSE STAND WILL INSPIRE PACIFISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

EUGENE LAGOT, the French pacifist who was arrested last November and sent to serve a sentence of six months' imprisonment for an article on pacifism, has been released from the Prison de la Santé, Paris. But though he has been freed, some of his comrades are still in jail.

In the following article Reginald Reynolds shows how their stand against militarism is an inspiration to those in Britain who are fighting against the menace of conscription, which Lagot himself says "means dictatorship and the systematic violation of all the liberties of the citizen."

By REGINALD REYNOLDS

LA SANTE—ironic name!—has now released Eugène Lagot. During his incarceration, however, he received a *billet-doux* from the Colonel Commandant of Recruitment in the Marseilles District. It consisted of a "Fascicule de Mobilisation," calling him to a non-combatant corps in case of general mobilization.

When one of the Deputies of the French Chamber wrote to the War Minister about Lagot's case he received an interesting reply. The War Minister "had the honour to let him know that on February 10, 1939, the Department of War had informed M. le Garde des Sceaux, Minister of Justice, that he gave his opinion definitely against taking into consideration the *recours en grace*" (the usual remission of sentences) "in the matter of the interested party."

"Justice" Dictated by War Office

The explanation, which followed, was that "The latter is, in fact, regarded as one of the most active propagandists of resistance, and it consequently appears to me impossible to go back on the decision already taken." Thus the Department of "Justice" received—and acted on—its instructions from the Department of War.

Eugène Lagot complains that I have not said enough about his companions in prison. I have naturally wished to make

one name familiar to all readers of *Peace News*, not as the only victim of French militarism, but rather as a symbol of the many who are continually suffering imprisonment and running great risks by making this stand.

I chose Lagot to symbolize this movement because he is a leader who has given years of his life to fighting against militarism all over the world. He is, moreover, known personally to many of us and I would like his name to be an inspiration to British people for an intensification of their efforts.

Those Who Remain

But at Lagot's request I would like to give at least a few details regarding some of his fellow-prisoners.

One is Edmond Grangier, a young man with a wife and four children.

Roger Coudry, who was condemned to six months' imprisonment on the same charge as Eugène ("incitement to insubordination") is editor of an anarchist paper.

Victor Léné and Louis Larse (of the *Patrie Humaine*), also Louis Leclerc, a married man with two children, shared Eugène's cell at La Santé.

Twenty more French comrades are expected at this prison at the moment of writing, some of them anarchists of the *Libertaire* and the *Réveil Syndicaliste*, others of the Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan (known as the PSOP—the ILP of France).

In case of war all these men will be placed immediately in a very serious position. In another reply of the War Ministry to a French Deputy the position of the war resister is explained. Whilst they are technically "excluded" from the army they are expected to join special corps known as sections d'*exclus*, which are under military control, as shown in the "Fascicule de mobilisation" served on Lagot.

"During the war 1914-18," writes the War Minister, "the *exclus* were employed in work of public utility. A certain number of them were authorised to contract an engagement for the duration of the war in a *corps de troupe*. Others, however, were put at the disposal of industrialists concerned in manufactures that affected national defence."

Conscription Danger in Britain

It need hardly be added that such work will not be acceptable to our French comrades, who, by refusing it, will take the greatest possible risks. It is a splendid comment on their attitude to these per-

Attacks on Art and Science

An invitation to Nobel prize winners and other famous people to contribute to a special collective study on the problems created by attacks on art, science and literature has been issued by the organizers of the "International Conference on Problems of the Defence of Democracy, Peace and Humanity Today," to be held in Paris on May 13 and 14.

Many personalities in the artistic, scientific and literary worlds are contributing and the publication of their findings by the Organizing Committee of the conference will provide an objective answer to fascist pseudo-scientific doctrines.

Among the questions to be dealt with in the publication are those of the doctrines of fascism in relation to liberty of thought and conscience; the fascist threat to culture and science; the position of art and science under fascism.

Dr. HAR DAYAL Death of Well-known Indian Pacifist

THE death is reported from America of Dr. Har Dayal, who was known to many members of the British pacifist movement.

Dr. Dayal was associated with the late Bart de Ligt in the foundation of the Peace Academy, and presided over the Academy's summer school last year.

He was born 54 years ago in Delhi, where he had a remarkable academic career. He threw up his prospects of a lucrative career in the British Civil Service and wandered over India preaching the cause of Indian freedom. Later he went to the USA where he organized the Gadar (Revolution) Party many of whose members returned to India and suffered life imprisonment or execution.

After the outbreak of War he was arrested in California, but escaped to Germany to carry on his political work.

After the War he became a political exile, and a ban on his return to India was only recently lifted. He never went back, however.

Despite his earlier revolutionary activities he was later deeply gratified by India's choice of non-violent methods, for he became a pacifist.

Last November he contributed two articles to the *Peace News* feature, "Speaking Personally."

Concentration Camps under the Union Jack

The arrest and detention of aliens in camps without trial was authorized in emergency regulations published in Hong-kong last week.

sonal risks which they are facing that they appear to be largely concerned in the necessity for British people to avoid slipping into the same position.

The pressure for conscription in Britain comes principally from Paris, where the protagonists of the military alliance are loud in their demands for a British conscript army and bitter in their criticisms of our Government's present reluctance to institute conscription at this stage.

Against this tornado of militarism the voice of Lagot has been raised continually, even from his prison: "Every other aspect of your work should now be subordinated to the fight against conscription. It means dictatorship and the systematic violation of all the liberties of the citizen. Fascism can do no more. It means the complete supremacy of the army."

Message for May Day

May Day is nearly here—the workers' day, the day of liberation when men and woman all over the world, in the prisons of France and the concentration camps of Germany, in the mines of South Africa and the black mills of Bombay, will remember the great call of international brotherhood with which the working-class movements first challenged a world divided by the frontiers of greed, pride, and hatred.

Today those movements are torn by dissensions which have ranged some behind the ambitions of Stalin, some behind the old imperial banners which they were pledged to overthrow. Others have disappeared completely, engulfed by the rising tide of fascism, itself the measure of their own failure to unite beyond the frontiers of spurious "national interests."

Is it too much to hope that there will still be enough who, on this First of May, will remember the great heritage of the past? Is it too much to hope that we may yet restore such words as "socialism," "communism," "anarchism"—even "democracy"—to the meaning that once made them shake the earth?

Over a century and a half has passed since Rousseau declared: "Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains." Today those chains are stronger than ever and for us conscription is the lock that threatens to secure them—the chains that bind us to the old order and separate us from our brothers in other lands.

Let May Day be for us a day of solemn re-dedication to the principles for which thousands have suffered and perished, the ideals for which men like Lagot are today facing persecution, that they may find in us defenders not unworthy of a great tradition.

MODEL CAMP FOR JAPANESE WAR PRISONERS

IN Changteh, a large town in western Hunan Province, the military centre of present-day China, is situated the largest concentration camp for Japanese prisoners of war.

It was established by the Chinese War Ministry and is conducted in an atmosphere of co-operation and brotherhood. Colonel Tsau, the Superintendent, is not so much the head guard as the friend and comrade of the captives, who, two hundred in number, have almost forgotten the nightmare of War and consider themselves lucky in that they need never return to the trenches.

In the camp, or rather the Peace Colony, reigns the spirit of democracy and harmony. All the work, from administration to cooking, is done by the "sisters and brothers," while the Superintendent and his helpers merely act as advisors and directors.

The Camp resembles a big Eastern family, in which everyone is regarded as a beloved member. It is also a Reformatory School where the bad boys are given another chance. It combines the ideal of Universal Brotherhood taught by Confucius with the philosophy of international solidarity and good will of Sun-yat-sen.

CAMP'S OWN NEWSPAPER

The captives arrange a weekly "tea party" and a monthly entertainment. Many of them are clever acrobats and sometimes they even give entertainments to the public.

The prisoners are free to communicate with their families and writing materials are provided. Colonel Tsau often receives letters from the men's relatives thanking him for his kindness to their men. The camp is about to publish a newspaper entitled *Peace to Your Neighbours*.

The men have three meals daily, followed by a cigarette; a Japanese ex-army doctor attends to their health. The men's favourite recreations are baseball and swimming. The women (of whom there are eight) prefer knitting, sewing, washing and singing. Life in the camp is a peaceful and friendly affair, the prisoners patiently awaiting the day when the war will be over.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"Why War?"—A Reply to Dr. Joad :: The Price of Ceylon Tea

DR. JOAD wishes me to enlighten him as to the sense in which I was using the term "materialism" in my review of his book, *Why War?* I was not, as he seems to think, using it as an epithet; nor was I using it in the technical philosophical sense in which he has taken me up, since I am not qualified to do so. I used the word in a more popular sense, which is defined in my dictionary as "respect for material or secular to the neglect or exclusion of spiritual interests." The degree in which spiritual interests are the content of *Why War?* may be a matter of debate between its author and myself, but he will hardly say that his book is mainly concerned with spiritual matters?

I think Dr. Joad has mis-read my points about the international police and non-violence. I did not "fall foul" of Dr. Joad about the police force; I said one would like to know his answer to a question. I said that the position of non-violent resisters might be strengthened by carrying out the disarmament and conference policy advocated in a later chapter of the book, not that their position would be strengthened by spiritual exercises (although I think they might also be strengthened in this way; I don't claim to know).

Nor did I "complain" because the PPU is only mentioned in a footnote. I said it was curious that while this was the case the book would bring in many new members to the PPU.

But it is the second half of Dr. Joad's reply that has prompted this letter. I disagree absolutely when he suggests that my job as a reviewer of a pacifist book in a pacifist newspaper was to say little about "ideological differences" and to present a more or less united front to a hostile or indifferent general public. He says, in short, that I shouldn't emphasize what I think but what I want the public to think. It seems to me very like mixing up unity with uniformity.

I happen to believe that the growth of the pacifist movement depends on the ability of those who are pacifists for different reasons to co-operate without minimizing legitimate differences. Consequently, although I personally disagree with Dr. Joad on some points (but not as he suggests from a purely Christian standpoint), I asked the PPU to stock and advertise *Why War?* I asked *Peace News* to let me review it, and I said in the review that the book was a triumph of exposition and that we should be grateful to its author for writing it.

ROY WALKER.

Dick Sheppard House,
6, Endsleigh Street,
London, W.C.1.

May I congratulate the PPU for having very wisely decided to boost the sale of *Why War?* Since Bertrand Russell's *Which Way to Peace* was published, most of us have felt the need for a fresh rational analysis of the current situation from the pacifist standpoint. I firmly believe that Dr. Joad's book is worth more than a year's propaganda to the PPU in these times.

I can find no conceivable explanation for the amazing interpretation placed on it by James Norbury who complains that the main positive argument contained in the book is a modified form of collective security.

The main positive argument in *Why War?* is indisputably contained in the chapter entitled, "A Positive Policy For Peace." This chapter does not even raise the question of collective security, but is concerned with the practicability of an immediate world conference. Obviously Mr. Norbury means the dialectic chapter on "The State and The Individual" in which Joad declares that in certain highly problematical and hypothetical conditions he would sanction the operation of an international police force.

The whole question is a philosophical one, which is entirely divorced from existing conditions, and the main thesis of the book is that so far as the next war is concerned men and women should refuse to fight.

DAVID KENNEDY.

15, Blackwood Street,
Barrhead.

Although Professor Joad, in his admirable book *Why War?* admits the important distinction between national and international police forces (pp. 154-5) he ignores the implications of the effectual operation of an international force.

Even given the conditions he requires, i.e., common law and an impartial international authority, surely it must be obvious to him that this type of justice depends ultimately upon the murder of innocent populations of an aggressor State. The problem of the international brigand can only be solved by non-violent resistance, since it seems that national propaganda will always conceal truth temporarily, at any rate.

We have to face the possibility of periodical attempts at international burglary and murder

CHRIST AND HITLER

MISS MACAULAY (*Peace News* April 21) naturally thinks it would be a crime to hasten to place countries under the Nazi régime, because she believes that much human suffering would be entailed thereby. That is true enough. Nevertheless, I maintain that Mr. Davies's principles are right.

I do not think Mr. Davies stopped to think what sort of cloak he would have given the robber; in his impetuous generosity he would probably have given him all that he had and so been in danger of suffering from cold himself, or he might have given him something that did more harm than good.

I think that if all Christian neighbours of this robber got together they would find a cloak to give him, and the cloak would probably take this form:—

They would go to the robber and say:

it is true, but it remains impossible to apprehend a whole nation without resort to murder.

Crime cannot eradicate crime and international peace, as well as national peace must always depend upon consent rather than upon force.

R. W. BARNES.

"Wimborne,"
17 Hillview Gardens,
North Harrow, Middlesex.

May I say how heartily I agree with C. E. M. Joad's reply to Roy Walker's review of his book *Why War?*

I have noticed for some time a regrettable tendency on the part of your reviewers to subject to the most petty criticism any book which does not bear the PPU stamp and which is not PPU through and through.

Surely the job of a reviewer is straightforwardly to recommend any book which is nine-tenths in support of our creed, and not to spend practically the whole of his review in quibbling on the finer points of theory.

STANLEY BURDEN.

9 Belvedere Road,
Oxford.

National Service

I was much interested in a letter you published on April 7, asking for further consideration of our attitude to National Service.

I add the following suggestions to stimulate thought on the subject:—

1. That an "International Brigade" be recruited from war resisters of all nations.

2. That it should carry on such work as that of the SVSP in peace time, and if war should break out, organize international relief work.

3. It could be so organized that members could carry on the peace time work while earning their living, and yet be kept international in scope.

4. That the aim should be to gain the respect of all people, and eventually its recognition by governments as a legitimate alternative service for those of their nationals who could not co-operate in war work.

5. With this end in view:

(a) Would it be advisable to connect it with some such international body as the ILO?

(b) A pledge should be taken by members, as binding as the oath of a soldier, to serve humanity in our own way, independently of governments or nationalities.

(c) Our determination to resist war, our pledge to international relief work, and our day-to-day work, should be constantly brought before the notice of the public and of governments.

HAROLD CRADDOCK.

23 Highbank Drive, East Didsbury,
Manchester, 20.

B.B.C. and War Propaganda

The tremendous influence for good or evil exercised by the BBC—directly or indirectly under Government instigation—warrants considerable attention being given by all agencies working to prevent war, to the programmes being radiated at the present time, so pregnant with fateful "possibilities."

Apart from Government announcements and news bulletins—mostly subtle war propaganda—there has been for some time a definite "militarization" of the programmes in process. To give only two items: last Saturday's National programme included "No. 7 of the Chronicle of Famous Regiments"—King's Royal Rifles; today's programme—Sunday—includes a production on "Gallipoli"; several plays broadcast quite recently have also been definitely war propaganda.

E. C. WILLIAMS.

"Hejmo," Birchwood Park Avenue, Swanley,
Kent.

"We have noticed what hard times you are going through—what a struggle you are having to keep your large family from starving. We should like to do all we can to set you on your feet. We can each spare something from our incomes. Tell us what you lack and we will produce it for you. Then you need no longer take things by force—a practice which must be as dangerous and distasteful to you as it is to us. If we can all live comfortably together we shall be able to economize on weapons and firearms and so become more prosperous."

I think the robber would accept this cloak gladly, and the softness and warmth of its texture would surely find its way into his very soul.

Again, I should like to express my great appreciation of the Rev. J. Anderson Davies's article.

ELIZABETH K. Z. LANGTON.
101 Brighton Road, Worthing, Sussex.

Pacifists and A.R.P.

I HAVE received a number of inquiries and representations concerning the difficulties of pacifists, A.R.P. and their employment. Some allege that already they are victimized or are in danger of being victimized.

Employers may have a sense of obligation respecting their employees no less conscientious than the conviction of pacifists, and I suggest they should not unnecessarily be placed in a dilemma. Those employers believe that for the safety of their staff they must take the precaution of preparing for a possible air raid by practising evacuation and similar acts.

Some pacifists are averse from obeying these instructions and thereby may risk the accusation of insubordination, together with its penalties. But what is an employer to do? If he does not prepare for certain grim eventualities his staff may complain, and he may be accused of neglecting his duty. If, however, some members of his staff refuse to assist him in what he and the rest of the staff consider necessary and right, his preliminary precautions may prove inefficient. Is he, therefore, to offend the majority for the sake of the minority?

It may be that the minority possess such a profound conviction that they can do no other than to impose this problem on their employer and colleagues. This is no new issue, I agree. But before such a crucial position is adopted it would be well for those who may take it to ask themselves three questions by way of ultimate test:

(a) If war were here, would they refuse to darken their windows at night on the declaration of an air-raid?

(b) If they would do this in their private houses, would they refuse to do so in their place of business and thus incur danger not only to themselves, but to their colleagues?

(c) Would they refuse to leave the building at the request of the rest of the staff and their employer when an air-raid warning was given?

If the answer is in the negative, then their present refusal to practise ARP is consistent. But let them consider well if the answer would be negative. Would teachers refuse in wartime to remove the scholars or to darken classroom windows?

If the answer is in the affirmative, then it may be that objection to ARP practice now is not so fundamental as it may be assumed. And in that case it may be that defiance of instructions should not be so rigid.

I appreciate the inclination of those who state they will not touch anything remotely to do with war, but there will be many inescapable dilemmas to confront once war has broken out. Will pacifists eat food imported under the protection of cruisers, for instance?

Complete logic is impossible in our complex society, and although each one has to decide for himself where to draw the line (and these lines are bound to vary), yet I would submit that, meanwhile, pacifists would do well to think twice before undertaking what may be premature and unnecessary disobedience of instructions that are designed to save human life. If, however, they must, they should appreciate the difficulties into which others are thereby placed, and recognize the consequences.

REGINALD SORESENSEN.

38 Woodside Park Avenue, London, E.17.

THE information which I gave in my article on Ceylon (*Peace News*, December 30, 1938) and in my pamphlet, *Ceylon*, with regard to wages, conditions, housing, health, the use of physical violence, separation of families, &c., is taken from official Government Reports. Most of it is from the *Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon* (the most recent year available of which is 1937). These annual reports can be seen at the library of India House, Aldwych. They are likely neither to err on the side of the labourer nor to be misinformed on essential facts. Let us compare their information with that of Mr. Card—

Mr. C.: "The remark about separating families is nonsense."

Report: The number of complaints under this head was 74 in 1936 and 45 in 1937. Each report for at least the past four years mentions that legislation is pending to make this an offence.

Mr. C.: "Wages have steadily increased since I came to Ceylon 20 years ago." Report (1937): "In May 1931 the rates were scaled down . . . In February 1932 a further reduction was made." These wage rates are guaranteed to the labourers by law, as is the 6-day week.

Mr. C.: "No European-owned estate pays less than the legal minimum." A look at the list of prosecutions in the Annual Report will show that some European estates were among those prosecuted and convicted on this count.

With regard to education, sanitation, hygiene, housing, etc., it is a very easy way out to blame the labourer. We had it earlier in Britain in the "Dark Ages" of the Industrial Revolution. Mr. C. tells us that "unlimited free medical attention is provided." This sounds excellent, unless we happen to turn up the Agent's Report, and find that "A large proportion of the 3.7 million patients who were treated in Government dispensaries and in the out-patient departments of Government hospitals during the year 1933 were treated by unqualified practitioners." "The scheme for the replacement of estate dispensers by qualified apothecaries has not made any progress so far." (Most recent Report.)

Mr. C. is right in telling us that the living rooms are 10 feet by 12 feet. The average to a room is not, however, just over three to a room, as he supposes, *Four people to a room* is the Government standard. The 1936 Report mentions that "there is no prohibition against the housing of more than one married couple in the same room," and continues: "It is needless to emphasize the undesirability of such a practice, instances of which are not lacking." It will be soon enough to blame the "coolies" who "prefer to live in herds" when there is accommodation provided for them to live decently. But the picture is not yet complete. The latest Report says that, though there has been improvement yet, out of 79,467 rooms inspected, 20,400 (i.e. just over one in four) were below this deplorable standard.

Mr. C.: "The withholding of Discharge Certificates for debt, or for any other reason, is practically never done." Report: Complaints received in the office of the Agent: "Non-payment of wages and refusal of Discharge Certificates" 1936, 369 complaints 1937, 303 complaints. This joint item heads the list each year.

Legislation has been suggested to make Discharge Certificates illegal on the ground that they are rapidly taking the place of the old Tundu. The Planters' Association is opposed.

Mr. C. declares that he disapproves of the practice of putting out notices warning off "undesirables," but he declares that "in practice it means nothing" since there are rights of way through practically every estate. If this is the case, it is difficult to understand the attitude of the Report on *Labour Conditions* in stressing the need for this reform on account of the evils attending the present system. It is also difficult to understand the attitude of the planters.

If Mr. C. is in earnest he should support my line by working for a declaration by the Planters' Association that there is a right of way to all the workers' houses which is guaranteed to them as a right, and which means that the labourers themselves, and not the planters, have the right to decide who shall approach them in their houses, and who are "undesirables."

AMY MOORE.

12 Napier House, 51 Ridinghouse Street, London, W.1.

It is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

South Africa at a Glance

Population of South Africa:—
Approximately 2,000,000 Whites.
Approximately 6,000,000 Natives.

Industrial Employment in South Africa:—
Natives: 44%.
Whites: 42%.
Coloureds: 10%.
Asiatics: 4%.

Average Annual Wage in South African Industries:—
Whites: £214.
Coloureds: £80.
Asiatics: £71.
Natives: £40.

Per Pupil Costs of Education, 1937, (exclusive of capital expenditure, interest and redemption):—

Provinces.	Whites.	Coloureds	and Indians.	Natives.
Cape ..	£21.0	£5.3	£2.4	
Natal ..	£24.4	£5.4	£2.0	
Transvaal ..	£20.9	£8.5	£1.9	
O.F.S. ..	£21.4	£3.7	£1.8	
Whole Union ..	£21.3	£5.6	£2.1	

Mr. Roosevelt's Message: Call for Declaration by Britain

THE National Peace Council has issued a letter in regard to President Roosevelt's peace appeal, which has been addressed to the Prime Minister by fifty leading persons representing the million signatories to the National Petition for a new Peace Conference.

After noting, with approval, the "prompt and cordial terms" in which the British Government welcomed President Roosevelt's message, the letter expressed the view that "it is in the highest degree desirable that the British Government should at the earliest possible moment make an announcement of the positive contribution which the British Empire itself is prepared to make to ensure a firmer and fuller economic liberty for the multitudes in every country."

"ABANDON PRIVILEGES"

The signatories suggested that this declaration should indicate "our readiness to abandon exclusive privileges in favour of a new colonial system based on the maximum freedom for the colonial peoples and the fullest trading opportunity in colonial areas for all the nations of the world, and our willingness to make such modifications in our national and imperial economic policies as will enable us to contribute fully to any co-operative effort to open up, in President Roosevelt's phrase, 'avenues of international trade to the end that every nation of the world may be enabled to buy and sell on equal terms in the world's market, as well as to possess assurances of obtaining the materials and products of peaceful economic life.'"

The letter stressed the importance of such a declaration from the point of view of the attitude of the German and Italian peoples and urged that it should be made before the German Chancellor speaks today (Friday). The signatories to the letter included:

the Archbishop of Cardiff, the Bishop of Chelmsford (President of the National Peace Council), the Chief Rabbi (Dr. Hertz), the Rev. Leslie Weatherhead, the Rev. Henry Carter, Sir Hector Hetherington (Principal of Glasgow University), the Marquis of Tavistock, Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, Mr. H. H. Elvin (Vice-President of the TUC General Council), Sir Harold Bellman, Mr. Robert Donat, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Canon Stuart Morris (Chairman, Peace Pledge Union), the Lord Mayor of Newcastle, and Rev. Lansdell Wardle.

Is Conscription Democratic?

"When our liberties are threatened by a system that is the opposite of ours, the subordination of the individual to the State, it is a spiritual folly, in my view, to go totalitarian in the effort to withstand the totalitarian States." So said Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, Military Correspondent of *The Times*, in a broadcast discussion with Sir Arnold Wilson, MP, on "Conscription and Democracy," last week.

Unless the vast majority of people were willing voluntarily to give their service, he continued, there was something wrong with the State, and it was not worthy of survival. To adopt compulsory service would be an admission of democracy's spiritual defeat in the face of the totalitarian challenge.

Sir Arnold Wilson declared he was more concerned with the defence of this country and the Empire than of a political theory.

To "Stop Aggression": Boycott or War?

Coercion Cannot Undo What Coercion Has Done

says ROY WALKER

In last week's "Peace News" Miss Gertrude Lieben—not Lieken as appeared through a misprint—stated the case of the League for the Boycott of Aggressor Nations.

She declared: "It is because we so sincerely wish to prevent another war that we use all our efforts to persuade people of the efficacy of the boycott... we believe this policy to be preventive and not punitive."

An answer to her argument from a pacifist point of view is contained in the following article by Roy Walker.

MR. GANDHI, who is generally regarded as a great modern exemplar of pacifism, has more than once made use of a boycott in the course of his non-violent campaigns. Probably for this reason it is often supposed that many pacifists are in favour of at least the milder forms of economic sanctions.

In one sense this is so. For instance, the pacifist usually agrees that there should be no export of armaments. His sympathy is with the Australian dockers who refused to load armaments for transport to Japan.

But he agrees only because he does not believe in the manufacture of armaments at all for any purpose.

Weapon of Coercion

The aim of the economic sanctionists is coercion. They propose a boycott not because they wish to encourage home industry—which is often more likely to be depressed by sanctions—but in an endeavour to prevent people in other countries from behaving in a way which they regard as undesirable.

This is a conception which has nothing in common with Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* and which, in most cases, breaks his cardinal rule of respect for the personality of his opponent. In no circumstances would Mr. Gandhi deny his opponent the necessities of life; still less would he deny these necessities to those whose only fault was that they were born in the same country as the opponent.

★

SANCTIONISTS are often moderate in their conception of the direction and application of sanctions. For instance, here are the criteria devised by Sir Thomas Holland

- (i) It (the sanction) should be defined in advance, not left for public discussion when aggression has started, and when threats of reprisals are being bandied about.
- (ii) It should not be of a kind that would be followed by costly and violent reactions which might tempt or even force the weaker nations to evade their obligations partially or wholly.
- (iii) Sanctions should avoid, if possible, interference with ordinary trade and with essential supplies for the civil populations.

In the modern world many of the materials used in the manufacture of weapons of war are also used for ordinary industrial and household purposes—e.g. oil and coal—and it is difficult to imagine circumstances in which such mild measures of coercion as those proposed above would alone prove sufficient.

Two Schools of Thought

Sir Thomas Holland belongs to the majority of sanctionists who propose the application of specific sanctions in the case of actual aggressions, with the object of bringing about a cessation of hostilities. Reliance is placed on the deterrent effect of the knowledge that sanctions will, in such circumstances, be applied. This is in line with the suggested application of Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Other sanctionists propose a complete interruption of trade and financial communications with the totalitarian bloc, to commence at once and to conclude only when "they cease their unjustifiable attacks on minorities and aggression on other nations." This proposal was outlined by the Secretary of the League for the Boycott of Aggressor Nations in last week's issue of *Peace News*.

IF this lady were asked to rip open the stomachs of a working-class family of German men, women and children on the ground that other Germans were guilty of robbery with violence and would be deterred by her action from future depredations, she would surely refuse?

The act of dropping high explosive bombs on the same people from twenty thousand feet would be only less shocking. But a refusal to export corned beef, let us say, can apparently be regarded by many people as a stern but dignified censure on unwarrantable behaviour abroad.

If the human imagination were less defective power politics would become impossible.

Economic sanctions are not necessarily less immoral than indiscriminate aerial bombardment. It is not better to starve a child than to bomb him—indeed it may be more inhuman.

The superior attractiveness of the economic form of torture lies in the fact that its perpetrators may stay away from the scene of torment. The possibility of killing or starving at a distance is probably the greatest evil in modern coercive methods.

"Guilty" Nation Myth

I have argued that aerial bombardment and economic sanctions are often equally immoral and, rightly regarded, illegal, since they involve the infliction of the maximum hardship and suffering on admittedly innocent people whose distress is to be the weapon whereby it is hoped to thwart or forestall the aggressive actions of another group of people.

The conception of a "guilty nation" is a dangerous abstraction and one which could only be accepted, one would suppose, by supporters of the totalitarian theory of the State.

★

IT is not possible to anticipate a unanimous acceptance of sanctions proposals to-day. Sanctions are necessarily something of a self-denying ordinance and it is difficult to persuade one country to cease trading with another if the only result would be to hand over the trade to a competitor.

Moreover, it is incredible that the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo triangle—with the possible addition of Madrid—would submit quietly to the process of economic strangulation.

The risk of war as an answer to economic sanctions would be uppermost in the minds of the statesmen of smaller countries bordering on totalitarian States and the prospect of being bombed in a good cause, even for a short while, is not attractive. Even England, as Gandhi has said, is "easily influenced by the use of gunpowder."

Effect of Sanctions

IF sanctions are not universally applied they are necessarily more or less ineffective. Re-export and disposal of existing stock from neutral countries is always a possibility and is obviously encouraged by the higher prices that the sanctioned countries would be prepared to offer.

I suggest that the result of applying sanctions to the totalitarian States would not be the downfall of the dictators but a closing of the ranks, a unification of opinion and a readiness to follow any decisive lead, however desperate.

A people will usually support a bad government of its own rather than submit to control by other nations, especially by nations that have treated them as the democracies have treated, say, the German people in the post-War period.

The world is now dividing into two rival military alliances. An attempt, necessarily partial, to coerce either alliance by economic sanctions would probably provoke war.

War would not relieve the minorities or even save them from death, and it would not abolish fascism. The caption over last week's article read "Boycott or War?" That seems to me a false antithesis. I do not believe that coercion is able to undo what coercion has done.

Too Late to Talk Things Over?

"AN eminent politician has told me that he thinks it too late to discuss facts of common humanity with the leaders of Germany and Italy," wrote Sir Walford Davies in a letter to *The Times* recently. "To us ordinary men with no political powers this makes nonsense, since it must never be too late for our Government to discuss human realities with statesmen responsible in their own countries for millions of human lives."

"I only beg to put two points of urgency at this critical time from the ordinary man's standpoint. As I see it our only deep and sorrowful quarrel with two countries with whom we wish to live in vigorous friendship and interdependence is this—their leaders today have gone back to killing and the threat to kill (their own and other wholly innocent people) as the actual instrument of national power. It is no comfort to know that the democracies will, if driven, kill back on the same wicked, useless scale."

Sir Walford Davies went on to plead for more and more factual inter-broadcasting, nation with nation, in each other's languages. "Broadcast truth can assuredly do better for every nation than the swiftest bombers," he said.

Opposition to Conscription Continues

OPPOSITION to the conscription threat continues throughout the country.

Nearly 200 delegates from trade unions in Yorkshire attended a conference in Leeds last Saturday called by the No Conscription League, and addressed by Mr. James H. Hudson, secretary of the League.

The conference passed a resolution expressing the belief that "the National Register and the present Government's schemes of National Service have been designed as the earlier steps toward conscription," and stating that the conference "rejects the appeals to take part in those schemes on the ground that they will contribute nothing to the real defence of the people, but everything to the support of imperialist and militarist policies."

WARNING TO WORKERS

Mr. Hudson urged all trade unionists to be on their guard and resist at every step the subtle attempts that were being made to fasten conscription on the workers. They had to remember, he said, that any form of conscription to be effective, meant conscription of labour, and the surrender to labour's enemies of all that trade unionism had fought for in the last 50 years.

On Sunday the following resolution was unanimously approved at a public meeting in Coventry organized by the local branches of the Peace Pledge Union and the ILP, and addressed by Mr. A. Fenner Brockway and Mr. T. A. Twyman:

"That this meeting believes that the imposition of military and industrial conscription is fundamentally incompatible with the principle of individual freedom and would lead to the loss of civil and industrial liberties. It welcomes the stand which many trade union, Labour Parties and Co-operative and peace organizations have already taken in opposing it and approves the formation in Coventry of a branch of the No Conscription League."

MAY DAY BANNER

A No Conscription League banner will be carried in the Labour Party's May Day demonstration in London on Sunday, May 7.

The procession will start from Victoria Embankment at 2.30 p.m.

It is hoped that branches of the Peace Pledge Union, Independent Labour Party, and other affiliated bodies, as well as individual members, will join the procession with their own banners or appropriate anti-conscription slogans.

UNDERGRADS SAY "NO"

The Cambridge Union, some of whose members will doubtless be affected by conscription, on Tuesday rejected by 204 votes to 144 a motion "That the time has come for the enforcement of compulsory training for national service."

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.
APRIL 28, 1939.

The Editor's Point of View

Will They Close the Door to Peace?

THE Government has now approved a scheme for compulsory military service, though it seems that it will be a comparatively mild one, at any rate at first.

That would be necessitated by the strength of the opposition to such a measure. Though relatively not great, the Government must be very well aware that sufficient potential opposition exists to give it more trouble than it would care to have to cope with just now. Sufficient, too, to blunt considerably the "impression" which it would be the purpose of conscription to make on other countries.

It is upon the fact of putting into practice a principle which was bound to be "approved" sooner or later by anyone who approves at all the principle of war that immediate concern now rests. For the Government has fully pledged itself not to introduce compulsory military service in peace-time. If it now does so, it will, according to the current argument, be on the ground that "the present state of international tension is scarcely to be regarded as a time of peace," to quote the Parliamentary Correspondent of *The Times*.

The pacifist would certainly be the last to hail either the present or any recent state of international affairs as peace. The whole post-war period has, in fact, been well described as merely an extension of the 1914-18 hostilities, carried on (mainly) by other than military means. But if those who accept the usual connotations of the terms "peace" and "war" now say the former has ended, what becomes of their claim that all their war preparations will save peace? Even if a juggling with words enables us still to give them the credit for their claim, what is the value of a "peace" preserved by measures that can only increase the war tension?

That, surely, is the fundamental objection to conscription of any kind for war purposes. All kinds of weighty but rather incidental objections can be advanced. What will, consciously or unconsciously, ultimately compel most people to oppose it is the recognition that it is another form of concentration on war preparation to the inevitable exclusion of peace preparation, and the conviction that only the reversal of that process can ensure the peace that all claim to be working for. And it is the worst form of such concentration just because those who, however inadequately, are patiently, painfully trying to prepare for peace because they sincerely believe it to be the best way to get peace, would be ordered to leave their efforts for methods they know to be futile, insane, dangerous.

Perhaps more deplorable even than that, peace-makers would be compelled by conscription to be war-makers or law-breakers (since most of them would rather be the latter) is the fact that conscription would deprive the forces of peace of their chief "raw material"—that vast body of people with what has been described as "half-formed consciences" on the matter of war. The answer to the riddle why, if we are to believe the claim that this country "wants" to be conscribed, its young manhood does not now voluntarily flock to the Services is neither that the mass of the population is pacifist nor that it thinks war preparation desirable, but that it still has a more or less open mind. The conscriptionists would close it to the appeal for peace preparation.

Which means that they would close it to the demand for the only immediate step that would end a tension that rests fundamentally on suspicion—not any step whatever which, however well intentioned, could possibly increase the suspicion; not even any addition to the mournful words that have proved so utterly incapable of ending the mistrust; but some positive action the unmistakably generous nature of which would alone break through the war clouds.

Humphrey S. Moore

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

By HAVELOCK ELLIS

THOSE of us who remember vividly the outset of the war in 1914 are struck by its contrast with what so easily might have been a war today. There was in 1914 a certain enthusiasm, almost exhilaration, over the declaration of war, which at the first carried away even those who, like Bernard Shaw, soon became extremely critical.

The war seemed unlikely to last long, and even those opposed to war in general felt that they could hardly condemn a war which, beside appearing to be the honourable fulfilment of a pledge to protect a small nation, claimed to be "a war to end war," "a war to make the world safe for democracy."

How different during the September crisis! An approaching war now aroused a mental state of unmitigated gloom. Even schoolboys partook of this, and meditated on the possibility that they might not have more than a few years to live. Among my correspondents, some who were not likely to have any direct contact with the war were so deeply affected that they became physically ill.

A Legend Exposed

THE reason for this contrast is simple. For the first time there has been a break in tradition, the legend of glorious warfare received a shock.

It is only twenty years since the Armistice put an end to the last war, and everywhere are still those able to bear witness, in a humble way, to what war means, often bearing about them the lamentable proofs.

What is more, if we go higher up we find the damning proofs of the inadequacy of the war leaders, whether English or French. There is Lloyd George, who played so influential a part, now coming forth with slashing criticism of those he was associated with; and there is Captain Liddell Hart, the dispassionate and penetrating critic of military affairs, with his condemnation of so many of the leaders of war.

When "war-makers" thus fall out among themselves it is clear that, even in their eyes, war did not pay. Thus among the most expert, and no doubt the best informed judges, there is growing up an estimate of warfare different from that which even yet prevails in our history books.

Green had, indeed achieved a great popular success in Victorian days by presenting English history as not entirely a record of battles, but, except for specialists, this movement has never been carried far. We were brought up on history still mainly viewed as a record of battles, from those of the Iliad down to Waterloo, not much being said of later warfare.

*"Preston Pans and Fontenoy
Were fought in 1745, my boy."*

With such jingles my schoolmaster taught us history. They remain in memory through a life-time, but there is no memory that he taught more profitable lessons of history. None of my generation, and I doubt if many of the succeeding generation, were taught history to loftier ends. It was merely a record of attempted invasions by other countries which, usually with the aid of Providence, were repelled, or invasions by our own country which, equally by the aid of Providence, were successful.

Fighting Kings like Richard Cœur de Lion, Crusaders, panoplied Knights, were glorious figures, as were a long succession of generals and admirals. The heroes of peace were barely, if at all, mentioned, and statesmen usually stood out by their manipulation of the levers of war.

In the Schools

THAT this state of things is still so prevalent in our schools seems unbelievable after the lessons of the last war.

There is, it is true, a fair percentage of inspired teachers who work on different lines, but as long as most schools not only insist on glorifying war through the history class but, as many do, on providing a training for war through institutions such as the OTC, these more enlightened teachers have little chance of being widely employed. Through the curriculum of most schools the great achievements of peace and the almost miraculous discoveries of science are still passed in silence, while war remains of the first importance, and is, so far as the school-books know it, always glorious.

It is completely forgotten that the element of personal heroism which once imparted an air of romance to war no longer has more than an occasional and accidental place in battle, and even then is without significance for victory. War, as military experts themselves emphasize, is no longer personal, it has become mechanized.

It is no longer human; the human units are mere cogs in a machine, and this machine is not even treated with the care we bestow on a tool; it is manufactured with the expectation that it will be largely, if not completely, destroyed in the using.

Origin Overlooked

QUITE in line with this blind attitude to war, hardly anyone, in spite of the vast changes in warfare, pauses to consider the origin of war.

Clearly it is a point needing much consideration, since war is very rarely found among other animals, and not at all among the higher and more intelligent most nearly related to man.

It is often asserted that war has always existed and is an inevitable characteristic of the human species. Not so long ago Lord Baldwin, when Prime Minister, confidently made this statement in the House of Commons, assured that no one would contradict him. Yet the scholarly experts who have investigated the question are far from finding that war has been the constant and inevitable accompaniment of human evolution.

It has undoubtedly been a phase, but one that seems to have arisen late and during but a fractional part of man's career, while even yet there are peoples in the world who either know nothing of war or exercise it in a comparatively bloodless and harmless way.

But even as a phase its modern developments have rendered war impossible if human civilization is to continue or even the human race itself to be preserved in a wholesome mental and physical condition.

New Approach Needed

IT is that which renders necessary a new angle of approach to the education of youth.

The education I have in mind is far from being that laid down in text-books and administered by the State through the agency of Cabinet Ministers, boards, committees, and so forth. That sort led Henry Adams to declare, forty years ago, that "the chief wonder of education is that it does not ruin everybody concerned in it, teachers and taught." The education needed should emanate spontaneously from every adult who is able to see intelligently what is going on in the world to-day; above all, from parents and teachers.

The teacher's part should not be that of a mere vocal text-book. A real teacher is a living person, animated by his own personal experiences and able by his general attitude to the world, whatever system he may be working under, to exert a personal contact and life-long influence on his pupils.

Speaking for myself, I can say that, as a boy, I owed an enormous debt of this personal kind, outside the classroom, to a teacher. At the present day, as regards war, the vast number of teachers who were in the last war should be among those to convey, even in casual contact with their pupils, a vivid impression of what modern warfare means. Nor is actual war experience necessary.

I think of my friend by correspondence, Frederick Gould, who died lately at the age of 82. Active up to the last, he devoted his life as a teacher, as a writer, as a lecturer, if not to direct anti-war propaganda, to the advocacy of the synthetic education which involves a universally humane attitude and a friendly approach to all nations, so that though he received no public honours, he was held by those who knew him to be one of the great men of the time. If we had more educators of this wide-ranging activity, the cause of pacifism would be won.

That cause is the supreme cause of our time, if the civilized future of the world is to be assured.

Would It Not Be Better?

The direct or indirect destruction of a German soldier costs us 20,000 francs, without counting the loss to our population, which is only repaired at the end of twenty-five years. Would it not be better to save the expense of this costly, inconvenient and dangerous apparatus of a permanent army, and instead to buy the enemy army when the opportunity presents itself? An Englishman put the value of a man at 480 pounds sterling. That is the highest valuation, and they are not all as dear, as one knows; but even so there would still be a great deal to be gained in finance and everything in population, since we should have a new man for our money, whereas under the present system we lose the one we have, without profiting by the one we have so expensively destroyed.

John Law. Written c. 1714.

Pacifist Forced To Leave Scout Movement

NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

National Members Elected

THE following have been elected national members of the Executive Council of the Peace Pledge Union:

John Barclay.
Harold Bing.
Vera Brittain.
Runham Brown.
* Ruth Fry.
Mary Gamble.
Laurence Housman.
Stuart Morris.
Philip Mumford.
Middleton Murry.
Max Plowman.
Arthur Ponsonby.
Charles Raven.
Maurice Rowntree.
Maude Royden.
Alfred Salter.
Donald Soper.
Andrew Stewart.
Wilfred Wellock.
Alex Wood.

*Subject to consent.

It has been decided to hold the first meeting of the Council on May 20.

Magistrate Dismisses Charge Against Pacifist

AFTER hearing only one of the witnesses for the prosecution, the Lambeth Bench dismissed last Saturday a charge of "insulting behaviour" brought against Mr. L. A. Hislam, of the Camberwell group of the PPU.

As reported in *Peace News* last week, Mr. Hislam was arrested for distributing the PPU leaflet, *The Warning*, outside a cinema where the National Service recruiting film of that title was being shown.

A large number of PPU members were present during the hearing, and they followed with keen interest the close examination of the constable who made the arrest.

The policeman, defending his action, said that Mr. Hislam "thrust" the leaflets into the hands of members of the public; that his behaviour was "insulting"; and that had he been allowed to continue, he would have provoked a breach of the peace.

On being assured that none of the other prosecution witnesses could add anything to the testimony already given, the magistrate summarily dismissed the case.

The leaflet, part of which is reproduced below, is one of the most effective ever issued by the PPU. It brings home the realities of modern war and suggests a way out to all who, impressed by the film, might feel that the only way of "doing something about it" is by enrolling for National Service.

See also: "The Warning: New-castle Protest"—back page.

THE WARNING

NOW YOU KNOW WHAT WAR IS LIKE
THOSE WERE YOUR WOUNDED CHILDREN
YOUR BURNING HOMES
YOUR RUINED TOWNS

Once war breaks out, nothing can prevent far worse devastation and chaos than we have just seen.

Facsimile of part of the PPU leaflet, "The Warning," which has figured so prominently in the news lately. The leaflet is specially written for distribution outside cinemas where the National Service recruiting film, "The Warning," is being shown. Supplies are available from PPU Headquarters: 100, 6d.; 1,000 4s.; postage extra.

SEQUEL TO ARTICLE IN "PEACE NEWS"

"Duty to God and the King" Challenge by Officials

AS a result of his pacifist views, expressed in an article in *Peace News* last August, Patrol Leader Maurice Fuzzard, of Hull, has had to leave the Scout movement. His "resignation," as it is officially regarded, is believed to be the first case of its kind involving an ordinary member of the movement (as distinct from Scoutmasters).

The article in *Peace News* was entitled "Scouts Should Renounce War," and was reprinted in pamphlet form by local branches of the Peace Pledge Union and Fellowship of Reconciliation. Maurice Fuzzard sent a copy of the leaflet to his Scoutmaster, who wrote to him:

"It would appear that the members of the Peace Pledge Union would prefer to live under a terrible tyranny such as Germany rather than lift a hand in the defence of their country. People who hold such views cannot in my opinion be in a normal state of health . . . and obviously require mental or surgical treatment."

"Obedience to Law"

He declared that the Scout Promise, involving "duty to the King," required obedience to the laws of the country, and asked Mr. Fuzzard to see if he could reconcile the Promise with his pacifist views.

After further correspondence the Scoutmaster, who is also secretary of the Hull West District of the Boy Scouts Association, wrote:

"I regret to have to pour cold water on your ambition of joining another Troop. As you have resigned from the 1st Anlaby St. Peter's Troop and have expressed your inability to carry out the Scout Law you are no longer a Scout and will not be permitted to join any Troop within the Hull West Association."

"Whatever may be done in other parts of the country, in the Hull West Association we do not permit any Scout to adjust his conscience to suit his own particular interpretation of the Law."

Maurice Fuzzard had in fact never expressed his inability to carry out the Scout Law; in his article in *Peace News* he had appealed to Scouts to put their Promise into practice, "remember above all their duty to God, and renounce war."

Upon his going to the District Commissioner, he was told that nothing could be done about the case, and that he was "definitely out of Scouting" because of his views.

Scout Headquarters' Statement

The case was then reported to the Imperial Headquarters of the Boy Scouts' Association by the Rev. J. S. Rymer, of Hull, who was told that if the views which Mr. Fuzzard held were incompatible with the performance of the Promise there seemed to be no alternative to his "resignation." The question of his transfer to

another Troop was a matter for the District Commissioner.

The letter to Mr. Rymer also denied the latter's allegation that "militarism is being very much pushed," and added:

"A large majority of Scouts interpret the Promise to help other people at all times as meaning that they should be prepared to be of service to their fellow men in the event of an emergency."

"This Headquarters cannot accept the view that the National Service campaign is a preparation for war—rather is it a preparation against war."

Headquarters also sent Mr. Rymer a memorandum on "Scouting and the members of the Peace Pledge Union," and a pamphlet entitled *Duty to the King*. So far he has been unable to obtain a clear statement as to whether pacifists are allowed in the movement, but the memorandum from Headquarters quoted the following from an article in the January issue of *The Scouter*:

"Loyalty to King and country implies a readiness to play one's part when called upon in national emergencies—which may mean war; the absolute pacifist is pledged not to take up arms, but he may, and probably would, help in relieving suffering."

"This kind of problem cannot be solved except by the individual; he must, in all sincerity, decide for himself what his action must be. In the long run, loyalty to God is the truest loyalty to King and country. But, so far as Scouting is concerned, the interpretation of that loyalty is left to the individual to decide for himself and not for others."

"Incompatible With Promise"

The memorandum continued:

"There are some, however, who would take a more extreme view of their obligations to pacifism, and who, by reason of their extreme view, do become the concern of Scouting. After its profession of loyalty to God and King, the Scout Promise adds, 'to help other people at all times.' In times of stress and danger, and in the event of war, a Scout is expected to render help to his neighbours."

"If a member of the Movement feels bound to refuse to render any help—freedom of choice of the particular form that that help should take being left to him, then under no stretch of the imagination can he be considered to be complying with the sole condition of membership which Scouting imposes. The views that he holds are incompatible with the performance of the Promise he has made, and he, or the Movement, have only one course open to them."

Maurice Fuzzard told *Peace News* that although the only place where his pamphlet had been advertised was this newspaper, he had received many requests from Scouts for copies of the pamphlet; one such request was from a Local Association.

"Schools should Prepare Children for a Sane World"

Schools should "quieten" children by carrying on normal preparation for citizenship of a sane world, said the Northern Ireland Minister of Labour, Mr. J. H. Robb, at the Ulster Teacher's Union annual conference at Portstewart, Co. Derry.

Children's minds run too much to war, he declared.

Next Week

ETHEL

MANNIN

will contribute

HERE'S what the crowd on p. 1 was looking at..



Mr. Laurence Housman on the balcony of Dick Sheppard House, at the formal opening during the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union. Miss Margaret Sheppard, who performed the opening ceremony, is seen beyond him.

Three postcards showing the group on the balcony; general view of the balcony and spectators; and the opening of the door, are obtainable from the PPU, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1; price 6d. each. Larger prints can be obtained by arrangement, the price depending on the demand.

Have You Been A Brick Yet?

FOLLOWING is the text of the speech made by Mr. Laurence Housman at the official opening of Dick Sheppard House (new headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1) during the annual general meeting of the PPU.

"We cannot say, 'This is the house that Dick built.' It was built before he or any of us were born."

"But we can say, without much doubt, that without him to lead us we should not have been here; and this place that has been prepared for us would not have been ours."

"Nor is it yet so freely ours as we would wish it to be. There is a debt on it, of a less grateful kind than the debt we owe to Dick."

"And if the sight of this house pleases you, I want to suggest how you can very individually each make it your own."

124,000 NEEDED

"I have a friend, a builder, who tells me that a house of this size takes about 124,000 bricks to build. We have in the PPU 124,000 members. If every one of our members would be a brick, and (pricing himself at the very moderate sum of sixpence) stand sponsor to that amount for one of the bricks which go to make up this building, then we should be able to take possession of it from now on free of debt."

"Is it too much to ask that those who have signed so great and revolutionary a pledge as that which we have signed, renouncing war, should pay the price of the laying or the maintaining in its place of one single brick in this house which has become the Ark of our Covenant?"

"On the heights of Montmartre in Paris there stands a great church (built during the last 60 years) dedicated to Our Lady of Victories. And that church is largely built of stones which have inscribed on them the names of the donors of those stones. (They cost much more than 6d.)"

"The inscribing of the name for posterity to read, was perhaps an added attraction. But do we need that attraction to induce us to give each a brick to our Lady of Vic-

(Continued on page 8)

BOOKS

The Worst of Both Worlds

By GEOFFREY WEST

Munich and the Dictators. By R. W. Seton-Watson. Methuen. 5s.**When There is no Peace.** By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Macmillan. 6s.**"We or They."** By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. 2s.

READING books just now on the Munich settlement of last September is uncomfortably like conducting a post-mortem on a newly-disinterred and distinctly smelly subject. Every hope has been shattered, every pessimistic prophecy has been confirmed.

In some respects *Munich and the Dictators* and *When There is No Peace* have been put out of date by more recent and one might almost say more staggering events; they might seem to have interest now mainly as documented historical records of a bygone and cardinal, but by no means conclusive, episode in contemporary European history.

But if outdated they are also in one sense only underlined. The men responsible for Munich—Hitler, Chamberlain, Mussolini, Daladier—still hold the political posts and powers then theirs. What they have done once they may—they might—do again. Professor Seton-Watson and Mr. Armstrong, the first British, the second American, both believe that that would be irretrievable disaster, and, though they are not pacifists and I am, I entirely agree with them.

There have been many pacifists in recent months who seem to have found themselves able, without making essential qualification, to approve at least Chamberlain's Munich action. If any think themselves able to do so still, they should not fail to read these studies by these two writers.

Shame and Humiliation

If they are short of time, then let them read one—either one, for both follow much the same lines, quote from the same sources, and arrive at similar conclusions, which are broadly that Chamberlain might have striven more for "reciprocity" and less for "appeasement," and that, however thankful we may be to have escaped actual war, we can only feel shame and humiliation in considering the means of our escape, and can only have doubts concerning the duration of our respite—doubts, I would add, not so much increased as turned to certainties (of the wrong kind) by the March, 1939, Nazi seizure of Czecho-Slovakia.

Seton-Watson's book is perhaps the more detailed but also the more frankly partisan; the friend of Masaryk and Benesh could hardly be otherwise. *Munich and the Dictators* is an indictment, but by a distinguished historian, with the result that it is history first and indictment afterward. It gives its references, it quotes fairly, and on debatable points argues the pros and cons with clarity and justice. It opens with a sketch of Austrian events from 1918 to the Nazi absorption in March 1938, and turning then to Czecho-Slovakia follows its story thence through the May semi-crisis and the Runciman mission, to Chamberlain's three visits to Hitler and the changes following on the third of these.

Mr. Armstrong comes a little more directly to the actual September crisis-days, but the broad effect is, as already indicated almost identical. A feature of this book is a 74-page day-by-day chronology of events from February to October 1938.

In Agreement

Both the writers are convinced not only—what needs no demonstration now—that no one was "appeased" at Munich, but that there was some very odd and distinctly dirty work going on in or around one or two of the foreign offices concerned, notably in Paris; and both are agreed that not only were the Munich terms worse than the demands at Godesberg, but that every possible promise was subsequently broken by every possible signatory. Both declare that all the signs were that in the event of war Russia was ready to fight and Italy not to fight—in each case despite contrary statements. Both seem equally baffled by what were certainly among the major mysteries of the whole business—

Mr. Chamberlain's absence of generosity in any of his references to Czecho-Slovakia ("a faraway country . . . people of whom we know nothing"), and his contrary readiness to assert, even angrily, his faith in Hitler's promises, despite the shock of the raised Godesberg demands.

It is not much to the point here, however, to re-examine in detail these examinations of events still vivid in most of our memories. Their importance for the past is historical, for the future rather illustrative in relation to the broader issues raised in Mr. Armstrong's pamphleteering *We or They*, published in 1937 and now re-issued at a cheaper price.

Bridging the Gulf

Here his subject is the difficulty of bridging "the great gulf" he finds fixed between the "fascist" or rather "dictatorial" and "democratic" conceptions of life. We cannot do it with words, he says, for how can we discuss art, say, with those who flatly condemn Mendelssohn, Heine and Thomas Mann "not because of any artistic deficiency but because of some extraneous fact wholly dissociated from all possible measures of beauty and satisfaction"? And so in every other field of existence.

What he does finally advocate is, in fact, a solution by force, a widespread "collective security" not to make war but to prevent continuous piecemeal aggression which will end by leaving anyone unable to resist. That, one gathers, would be Professor Seton-Watson's solution too. Pacifism is, to both these writers, sheer defeatism. There is, nevertheless, a considerable truth in Mr. Armstrong's remark on an early page of *When There is No Peace*:

Most people had no clear idea of what a different thing negative pacifism is from a positive task like the organization of peace. Twenty years of well-meaning but sometimes naive pacifist propaganda had resulted in public confusion between a state of mind and a programme of action. People thought peace was something to be eulogized and invoked, not something to be purchased by the assumption of real international responsibilities, perhaps even by accepting limitations on national sovereignty.

I suspect that Mr. Armstrong himself would set down Peace Pledge Union members as such as "negative pacifists"—and it is perhaps one of our troubles as an organization that in a few too many cases he might be right. There are still too large a proportion even of avowed pacifists who feel that to renounce war is enough, and that having done that the "organization of peace" can be left to look after itself.

Dangerous "Appeasement"

But there is one thing which I would declare to be a good deal more dangerous than such pacifism—and here I think even Professor Seton-Watson and Mr. Armstrong might not disagree—and that is the policy of "appeasement," with which Mr. Chamberlain has identified himself, whose principle seems to be to give away other people's possessions with one hand while with the other phoning to the gunsmith to send over a bigger and better revolver.

"The price of peace," says Professor Seton-Watson, "cannot be paid vicariously, and so far we have shown no sign of readiness to make any sacrifice of our own in its cause." There he speaks absolutely to the point, and even when he goes on to say that "on the existing basis" (my italics) "of 'the European Anarchy' it would be sheer folly to cede an inch," I find it hard not to assent, though I am sure our motivating principles are quite divergent.

I believe that the pacifist way—of refusal to fight under whatever provocation, and free acceptance of whatever consequence that refusal may bring—still offers probably the most hopeful solution of our dangers, and almost certainly the only abiding one.

That is our common faith, and we must teach and spread it while liberty of speech and writing yet remains to us. But it need not so deprive us of our wits that we cannot still perceive that peace under some conditions need be no cause for rejoicing, and that peace at any price can only be justified by and for those whose intention it is never to fight at all.

Pacifism is the best way out, if only some nation were prepared to adopt it. In present circumstances, above all the present psychological circumstances, evident national reluctance to practise pacifism makes it possible for even pacifists to feel that, whatever their individual intentions, it is only too likely to be, willy nilly, some form of force which will temporarily hold back the tide of war—if anything can—and alone give them the time they need to carry their persuasions further.

At this moment, nations like Britain, France, Russia and America will fight if vitally attacked. Thus far pacifism has failed, as it will continue to fail till deeper understanding brings it to profounder action. Until then, a case can still be made out, on "practical" grounds, for "armed" defence contesting every strategic point. (Without generosity and imagination it will, of course, lead eventually to war, but the onus of that will be upon the imaginative failure.)

The action for which no case can be made out is that which lies between—the way of Munich, which has faith neither to throw away the arms nor to abide by their verdict, which signs peace pacts and simultaneously accelerates rearmament. Munich, in fact, made the worse of both worlds, and by reason of faults on both sides has given rise only to increased hate, anger, and war preparation, making concession which would also be conciliation more remote than ever.

Another Munich, along Mr. Chamberlain's September lines, would no more "appease" Herr Hitler and Nazi Germany than the last; it might even be the greatest of all possible disasters short of a world-war obliterating civilization itself. Any course followed with imagination and courage is better than any course followed with neither, for their absence is a darkness which can only lead mankind blundering to destruction.

Christianity and War

The Whirlpool of War. By A. Ruth Fry. Peace Book Co. 2s. 6d.

THIS book is concerned primarily with the logical Christian attitude to war. Christians believe that personality is divine, that each man is of infinite potential value by reason of the light of God within him. To kill a man, therefore, is deliberately to extinguish the light of God.

Thousands of Christians—and thousands more who, though not necessarily professing Christianity, consider themselves "civilized" people and owe their moral code to Christ's recorded teachings—look with horror upon the crime of taking another's life.

A man who has committed ten murders is a tenfold murderer. And so on, in mathematical progression—until somewhere, in the realm of numbers which, by their very magnitude, almost cease to represent individual human beings and become just statistics, the whole moral principle is reversed. The State intervenes to take charge of the individual, and the individual, by his very subservience, accepts this sudden change—over from the highly disgraceful crime of murder to the meritorious mass slaughter of war.

CONSCIENCE OR COUNTRY

It is on this very question of conflicting loyalties—the loyalty to the individual's own conscience and to his country—that Miss Fry is particularly illuminating. She draws a fine distinction between the individual's right to refuse to obey the State where his own conscience tells him that such refusal is for the good of the community and where he personally stands to profit from resistance.

In this connexion, the vexed question of labour strikes crops up. In so far as they are a means of obtaining greater material advantages for those concerned at the expense of other people, Miss Fry holds them to be a selfish and illegitimate weapon. If, on the contrary, they are in the interests of the higher good of the community, they are held to be allowable.

During the period of English conscription about 16,000 men made the choice between loyalty to their conscience or to the State, and refused to serve. Like the Quakers, who wore down the resistance to freedom of worship in this country, these men—and the undoubtedly far greater number who would resist any future period of English conscription—must finally succeed in breaking down the bondage in which the State holds the souls of its subjects.

They point the way, too, to the wonderful weapon of spiritual resistance, which is surely destined to take the place of war.

Have You Been A Brick Yet?

(continued from page 7)

tories—Peace—whose way is the only way in which victories can now be won?

"I have not had our Treasurer's permission to drop this brick among you—to drop these 124,000 bricks among you; but I expect I have his forgiveness for doing so; and having done so, I have said my say."

"So now enter in, and possess this house as you deserve it—according to the measure of your value of it and the use you make of it—for world peace: and always in faithful memory of our leader and founder Dick Sheppard, that, with us, he may rest in peace, and the desire of his soul be satisfied."

Have YOU been a brick yet? Up to Wednesday morning

1,490

bricks had been sponsored. If you have not yet answered Laurence Housman's appeal, Mr. Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be happy to receive your donation to the Brick Fund at the address given above.

New Peace Exhibition

A peace exhibition made by Colchester pacifists was on view on the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, and is available for other groups.

It consists of sixty panels, extending to a length of forty yards. Though they can be put on chairs they are more effective if placed on trestle tables or stands.

The exhibition contains two parts, each consisting of three sections: Part 1—Causes of war: economic, psychological, and political; Part 2—Ways to peace: economic community, good will, and peace-making.

A detailed programme will be sent on receipt of 2d. plus a halfpenny stamp.

A hiring charge of 12s. per week (plus transport) is being made toward refunding cost of the exhibition; it should easily be covered by collections and leave a profit for the group showing the exhibition. Cost of transport can be reduced by cooperation between neighbouring groups.

All inquiries should be sent to Peace Exhibition Secretary, 19 Wellesley Road, Colchester, Essex.

The spiritual and practical aspects of war are dealt with more than adequately in this book.

For the sincerely believing Christian, who yet is unable to apply the fundamentals of Christ's teachings to national and international relations, Miss Fry cites the Crucifixion which, she says, "may be construed as weakness, yet what failure was ever such a haunting and triumphant success as what seemed like the final end?" In other words, the greatest example in history of the power of non-violent resistance.

The advocates of armed security are set a few leading questions—"Was Belgium saved by our protection? Why was undefended Luxemburg safe? Why did French people send their children to unfortified towns for safety in the War, away from those that were garrisoned?"

Finally, there is an exhortation to the pacifist not to be led astray by half-measures—to be on guard against partial disarmament which cannot outlaw war—and ever to bear in mind that a gesture of good will to the world of such magnitude as complete disarmament would tell the world unmistakably that British courage was undiminished, that Britain had no fear of her sister nations and disdained to threaten them by guns. Such a gesture would prove to the world that Britain's prestige and her greatness were to be found elsewhere.

Vera Barnes

SPECIAL OFFER TO 'PEACE NEWS' READERS

The "New Leader," I.L.P. Organ, which leads the struggle against Conscription and War in the Labour Movement, will be sent to you for 2s. 6d. for six months, post free, if you use this form.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Post with 2s. 6d. to "New Leader,"

35, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN It's Human Nature "Speaking Personally," says . . . for Human Nature to Change!

IN animals—and also in the more animal atavistic part of man—the reactions based on instinct—the instincts of self-preservation and self-reproduction are largely automatic. In the animal world, they are generally speaking uncontrollable.

You can always predict how certain species and breeds will react to a given stimulus. But you cannot so certainly predict how man will react. He is subject, it is true, to many reactions which are still quite involuntary. He trembles with excitement, he sweats with fear; and when the fear is a particular kind of fear he sweats in a particular way, which has a reasonable atavistic origin, but today has very little reason left to it.

If you are sensitive, and imagine yourself falling, the palms of your hands moisten. That imaginative sensitiveness has no apparent use; but it was of great use to arboreal man for the palms of his hands to moisten when he felt himself falling. It gave him a better grip on the branch of the ancestral tree; but the knowledge that it is now less essential for survival will not prevent your skin from still reacting as did the skin of our tree-climbing forefathers when danger threatened.

Control Over Instinct

WITH that example before us—one out of many—it is not hard to see that if the stimulus remain the same, the reaction will remain the same; and will even in some cases unreasonably continue when the need is apparently obsolete. In that sense the statement that human nature never changes is true.

But in the sense in which it is generally used—that something which man perceives ideally good and desirable can never come to pass because human nature never changes, it is totally untrue, human nature being infinitely more open to new kinds of stimuli than are birds or animals.

Deer at the drinking-place will always react in the same way at the coming of a lion. Men, at the coming of a lion, react differently: some are afraid, some are not. But the reasons for the absence of fear may be very different. The hunter is not afraid, because he relies on his skill and his weapons; but if these fail him he may be just as much afraid as anybody else. Christian martyrs sometimes were not afraid, because they regarded the lion's jaws as the gate of Heaven, and they were so obsessed by their desire to get to Heaven that they regarded the means to it as no more than a necessary piece of dentistry.

Face your dentist without quailing, those of you who can. Some cannot. Others are not afraid of lions because they really love them, and care so little about their own safety that the astonished lion, missing the customary accompaniment of fear, thinks they must be bad to eat, and makes friends with them instead.

Androcles and his lion are an instance of that sort of thing. And I imagine that had St. Francis ever met with a lion his attitude to the lion would have been the same and they would have become friends. And then we have the story of the holy Brahmin who, meeting a famished lion in the wilderness, let the lion eat him because he thought the lion was more in need of a meal than he was himself. And the lion, if I remember rightly turned out to be God Himself. (A commentary on "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in Him").

But in all those cases it is the man and not the lion who makes the difference. Animals have no means to control or alter the instinctive fear they have of death. Man has: and that power to attain control over instinct alters human nature—and has altered it enormously in various relations of life—so that one may say of it that the more it changes the more it is the same thing: that it is human nature for human nature to change.

Power of Judgment

MAN is still in the making—not on the physical but on the spiritual side; and if he has not an instinct for becoming something different and better than what he is, why have we churches? Why preachers? Or why does the word "sacrifice" mean to us anything except foolishness?

Now where is it—since they have a common origin—that human nature differs so profoundly from animal nature in its re-

actions—sharing so many on the material plane of instinct, and then in other directions, by what seems like a contrary process, being able to react in a reverse way to the reactions of animals? It is because, from brain development, human nature has acquired a power of judgment, of criticism, of comparison. It can make, as animals cannot, its own summary of life; it can make its own individual selection of values and act on them.

That power of judgment puts within reach of human nature a motive and a means to the control of instinct, for discovering new values and reacting to them, for being critical of itself, with ability to decide between certain courses of conduct what makes for success, and what makes for failure.

It would be amazing if, with such an added power, human nature did not change. It would mean, in fact, that it had embarked upon a sort of racial suicide, and had allowed its power of judgment to fall into abeyance.

Brain Beat Muscle

THAT power of change, then, is first the product of brain-power: brain-power (in the first instance and over very long periods) exercised for the control and discipline of physical power mainly to material ends.

That phase of the changes of human nature began in the jungle with prehistoric man. There—harassed and hunted, the weaker surrounded by the stronger (but developing gradually a larger brain) he is saved first by fear coupled with agility—then by courage backed by brain. It was a great change when the Human ceased to be the hunted and became the hunter—the hunter of things stronger than himself. And the only reason why he could do it was that he was the cleverer. Brain beat muscle.

And then, in the second period of his development, you had man versus man; brain still at work beating muscle. That competition between equals sharpened his brain, and made him reach out for larger and better means of holding his own: and he discovered for himself—as certain animals and insects had done—cooperation.

It wasn't love: but it had the making of love in it. It was cooperation only up to a point, within narrow limits; but it was the genius of human nature to discover means for ever extending them. And so you had first the family, then the clan, then the tribe, the nation: then, by the conquest of other nations, Empire.

But always outside the limits of cooperation there was the law of the jungle—war. Beyond that, up to date, we have not managed to go. And apparently there are still men in authority—quite clever men, who regard that second period, in which we still are (speaking generally of nations, not of individuals), as the last word in civilized human nature. You are never going to change it: you are never going to extend cooperation so as to eliminate war.

Human Nature Must Change

WELL, if man is going to refuse to exercise his judgment upon the results of war, if his power of self-criticism is going to confine itself to the products and social conditions of peace, and is going to remain obstinately blind to the intolerable peace-conditions which are the combined cause and outcome of modern war; if he is going to arrest an age-long development of that wonderful process of trial and error which has made him what he is: if he could do that, could so paralyse the workings of his brain as to keep a blind spot in his eye toward the fate with which war threatens him—then, of course, he will never learn to do without war.

But it seems to me rather improbable that human nature will refuse to go on changing just at the point where refusal to change

will probably mean the extinction and death of millions, and the destruction of civilization as we know it now. Modern war means, and will mean more and more, the destruction of whole populations.

Soldiers will be safer than civilians, and victory will be so swallowed up in ruin that no profit will be left in it.

When war has got to that stage of monstrosity and uselessness, is man going to have no different judgment about it as a practical remedy in cases of dispute? Is human nature going to be so abysmally stupid as not to admit that a new factor has entered into the consideration of war, if war is no longer going to pay? I am putting

it on the most material ground—if even victory doesn't pay.

Slavery didn't pay. It was an expensive form of labour, and it was largely that fact which opened men's heads, hard business heads, to the teaching of other men's hearts, and taught them the surprising fact, which Christ tried to teach 2,000 years ago, that the heart has sometimes the better head—that the most truly economical thing in the world is to do what is right.

Will Heart Beat Head?

YES: just as brain beat muscle in the jungle and made physical force its servant, so some day—if human nature does not arrest its own evolution by committing suicide—heart is going to beat head, and make head its servant. Heart is going to teach head that love pays better than hatred!

Between love and hatred you might think there is no likeness. But they are both an expression of human nature.

Human nature is always trying to express itself; and the main question is whether that "self" is something small or something large, expansive, or contractive,—whether it is capable of developing into the great society—great enough to express itself progressively—not only nationally but internationally.

The ethics of war, the ethics of peace are incompatible the one with the other. Is it "sloppy sentimentalism," is it vague idealism, to believe that human nature and human society can be progressive, co-ordinate, cooperative—fundamentally, as well as on the surface?

If you say that human nature never changes, in the sense that it will always

follow the law of its being, I should agree; but as reason has become a part of the law of its being, that law forces human nature into a criticism of life which is for ever providing life with fresh evidence and fresh material to work on—spiritual as well as physical. And that is why the evolution of man outstrips the evolution of the animals, and (while his body remains very much the same from century to century) produces such astonishing changes in forms of civilization, in processes of thought, in ethical conception, in spiritual aspiration.

In these great changes human nature is expressing itself just as surely as the bees, who hive and swarm today with no discoverable variation from the way in which they hived and swarmed when Virgil wrote a poem in their honour 2,000 years ago. And when that poem makes unscientific statements, we know it is because Virgil is inaccurate, and not that the bees have changed their procreative methods or their social arrangements. Virgil said that bees generated out of the festering carcase of a cow. They don't, and they never did. It was Virgil, and not the bees, who made that mistake in biology.

Our "Fighting Fund" Opens

A "FIGHTING FUND" for Peace News! Readers have been repeatedly calling for one—and now we have pleasure in launching it.

Never before has it been so important that the Voice of reason, generosity and peace be heard throughout the world. In all countries hysteria, hate and violence seem to be mustering their resources for their final triumph: a "triumph" which will mean the end of what we call Civilization.

Peace News has a great part to play in countering these disastrous tendencies and in showing the world the only real way to peace. Alone among the British press it stands for the policy called constructive pacifism.

The paper is subsidized by the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the official organ, to the extent of £750 during the current year. Last year's subsidy was a third as much again. Ultimately the real need is to increase the growing circulation.

Meanwhile, the subsidy could well be employed in some other branch of the PPU's work. It can be—if readers will rally now and subscribe the same amount.

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in Peace News. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to Peace News, Limited—not to the Peace Pledge Union.

Donations Received this year:

A PPU group which was unable to sell its copies one week	0 10 0
A group which asked us to "keep the change" out of an amount paid to settle its account	0 1 0
Ditto from a subscriber	0 0 6
Anonymous (Feb. 17)	0 5 0
The reader referred to in the Editor's Notebook last week	1 0 0
A Sutton, Surrey, reader	1 0 0
A Loughborough reader	0 10 0
	£3 6 6

4%

AT THE GROUP MEETING

"In my opinion excessive profits are a blot on the social conscience from whatever source they may be derived. Investors should be satisfied with a moderate return—say the four per cent. one gets from St. Pancras Building Society!"

"Agreed! but I don't call four per cent. a moderate return. Paid unfailingly, and free from income tax, it's a very good yield indeed, especially when your capital is withdrawable."

If you think so too, you should write for the Society's free "Guide for Investors."

Managing Director: E. W. BALES

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARKWAY, N.W.1



JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13:

"And Some Fell by the Wayside"

WE are constantly being taunted by opponents and critics that in England it is easy to be a pacifist.

Granted right away that it is easier than in Germany or other totalitarian countries, the fact remains that many of our members are finding it impossible to get work and an increasing number are losing jobs because of their pacifist beliefs. Eighteen months ago, I began what I called my "Unemployment First Aid Bureau," and invited any who wish to join it, so that I could compile a list of pacifists under their occupations.

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

Now, when any pacifist is reported as having lost work or as unable to get work, I am able to put him in touch with others in the same profession or trade who, being pacifists, have a double incentive to help.

The list has grown to over 400 and has already been the means of finding work for eight or nine "victims."

During the last few months, however, the pressure has been steadily increasing and examples are constantly coming to our notice, some of which call for immediate help. Will anyone reading this write to me at once if they can be of assistance to:

(a) A wood-worker—craftsman—twelve years' experience in making art materials, drawing boards, &c. Dismissed for refusing to take part in ARP on conscientious grounds;

(b) A motor driver, skilled mechanic, able and willing to live anywhere, at present out of work and urgently needing assistance. Active PPU member;

(c) A lawyer's clerk, specially trained in conveyancing;

(d) A schoolmaster qualified to receive £350 per year, Burnham scale. Shell-shock in war. Subjects: history, English, maths., geography. Ready to consider clerical work. Would live anywhere, prefers N.E.

Do what you can. We may be able to help you another time.

Dick Sheppard Centres continue to spring up in all directions, and I am often asked

The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY. Meetings

Kingston and Surbiton group now has a pitch in Kingston Market Place for open-air meetings on Sunday evenings at 7.45 p.m. *Peace News* sellers wanted.

Liverpool.—Peace Group will meet Mondays at 7.30 p.m. in Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street.

Poster Parades

Glasgow.—Parades every Saturday night in April. Apply PPU Office, 534 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

There will be poster parades and *Peace News* selling from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, every Saturday at 6.45 p.m.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Gravesend.—New Road every Friday from 6.30 to 8 p.m. Write Donald Port, 143, Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

Sparkhill and Sparkbrook.—Members here wish to maintain six selling posts every Friday (5.30 to 8 p.m.). Write Ronald A. King, 370 Sarehole Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

Birmingham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday (4.30 to 8.30 p.m.) for hour or more. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 22 Hem-yock Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Miscellaneous

Peace Exhibition on "Causes of War and Ways to Peace," sixty panels, available at 12s. per week plus transport: Peace Exhibition Secretary, 19 Wellesley Road, Colchester, Essex.

Sheffield.—June 10 has been fixed for a *Peace News* Regional Conference. Further details later.

Volunteers wanted to poster parade or sell "*Peace News*" on June 3, at open-air meeting, Tonbridge. Also volunteers to help run Peace Book Shop, June 3 to 9. Write: Tonbridge Secretary, 20 Barden Park Road, Tonbridge, Kent.

Learn German quickly.—War Resisters' International highly recommend refugee friend teach German privately, or classes arranged by groups in London-area. Also coaching for examination. Necessary to earn. Apply WRI, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Liverpool.—Anyone in this district desiring peace literature, posters, leaflets, &c., is invited to call on Mondays or inquire from M. Muriel Shearer, 44 Oxford Road, Bootle. Liverpool, 20.

how they grow. Most of them pass through a hard time and then are given new life by a sudden flow of generosity.

One such place is needing help now and could become a progressive centre if it had a godmother. It was started after the September "crisis" and has become the home of the local group who are now anxious to make it a Regional centre and a place from which active pacifist work could radiate.

They want to start a social centre and have plans for boys' and men's clubs.

They lack funds. If you want to help them, I will let you have the address. They must decide quite soon if they are to continue. £10 will save them.

Peace Exhibition—Causes of war and the ways to peace:—All those who came to the AGM at Friends House saw the Exhibition of posters staged by the Colchester PPU and FoR Group.

It is made up of sixty posters displayed in six sections and mounted on three-ply wood. The Exhibition is divided into two parts and each part into three sections. The first part deals with the causes of war—economic, psychological, and political respectively. The second part deals with the ways to peace, tending toward the removal of those causes and the sections roughly correspond to the three sections of the first part; they illustrate Community, Good Will, and Peace-making, respectively.

Why not show this Peace Exhibition in your town? The cost of hiring it is 12s. for a week or part of a week, plus transport and insurance. All further information from the Peace Exhibition Secretary, 19, Wellesley Road, Colchester, Essex. The exhibition is now stored at Dick Sheppard House, PPU Headquarters, for the first comers.

What the Groups are Doing

AN enjoyable weekend was recently spent by members of the Oswestry and Levenshulme groups at the home of Mr. and Mrs. P. Williams. The tit-bit of the stay was a poster parade of sixteen persons for a full hour headed by the Excelsior Town Band of Oswestry. The parade was organized by Councillor Emily Rogers. Picture it—a fine brass band, men in uniform, with a very able conductor, leading a PPU poster parade! It certainly attracted attention.

Saturday's excitement included a real ARP practice in the morning when a genuine fire broke out under the floor. As a result of the firefighting, the house was minus a fireplace and many floor boards.

On the Monday, members visited their refugee house, where, assisted financially by friends, they look after six German refugees. Members and refugees went for a ramble at the end of which the linguistic knowledge of both parties had been considerably improved.

"Peace News" in West Kent

A SERIES of mass *Peace News* sellings at four-weekly intervals has been arranged throughout the summer season at various towns in West Kent, the first of which was held last Saturday evening when volunteers from districts as wide apart as Chatham and Bromley descended on Maidstone.

Seventy copies were sold, leaflets were distributed, and an open-air meeting was held at which Mr. Briar was the speaker. The meeting suffered owing to bad weather but a good deal of attention was attracted, particularly by the new PPU picture posters.

The next selling will be at Chatham on Saturday, May 20, when it is hoped sellers will be assisted by the Region's newly-acquired publicity van.

Success for Ewell Group

ON Good Friday the four Anglican Churches of Ewell, Surrey, held a combined service at the local cinema. This was attended by 1,600 people and many had to be turned away.

The Ewell and Stoneleigh PPU group saw here a favourable opportunity for some good work and so distributed, with the help of some Worcester Park members, suitable literature at the conclusion of the service.

Fifteen copies of *Peace News* were sold. "That it is the duty of every man to fight for his country in time of war," was the subject of a recent debate in Ewell Congregational Church Hall. The Rev. E. Parkes Perry, Minister of the church, was chairman and the motion was proposed by Mr. T. R. Holdstock and Mr. Stokes for the Men's Forum of the church. Mr. W. N. Moorhead and Mr. H. G. Endean, speaking for the local PPU group, were successful in defeating the motion by a good majority.

This debate followed one held a few months ago with the Stoneleigh Methodist Church. On this occasion too the motion was lost.

Blackheath's Dance Tomorrow

PLANNED to bring together members who, for various reasons cannot meet during the week, and also to raise funds for the group, a dance will be held in the Blackheath Concert Hall tomorrow (Saturday) under the auspices of the Blackheath and Charlton group. Tickets (2s. 6d.) are obtainable from the Peace Shop, 14 Royal Parade, London, S.E.3, or from Ethel V. Wakeman, 36 Wemyss Road, London, S.E.3.

According to the second annual report of the group there are 208 members in the group com-

P.P.U. Summer Conference

THE Peace Pledge Union's summer conference has been fixed for July 29 to August 8, and will be held at Pannal Ash College (near Harrogate). It will be an international conference this year with places for between 250 and 300 people.

Pannal Ash College is wonderfully situated, only half an hour's walk from the moors; its facilities include eight tennis courts, a swimming bath, and a gymnasium.

Beds will be available for all, and there will be room for camping parties. The cost will be 37s. 6d. per week, or 50s. for ten days. Early applications for the conference should be made to John Barclay.

TO HELP BASQUE HOUSE

A member of the Peace Pledge Union who has specialized in the subject of Dickens (life, works, &c.) would gladly give lantern lectures if collections were taken for Basque House. The addresses are popular and entertaining, as well as reliably informative.

The organizers would need to provide hall, lantern, and operator. Apply in first instance to Secretary of Clapham group—Mr. A. F. Clarke, 17, Hambalt Road, London, S.W.4.

Owing to heavy pressure on space the feature "Under the Oak Tree," dealing with the life of the Spanish refugee children at Basque House, has had to be held over from this issue. It will appear as usual next week.

News of Two Birmingham Groups

A MEETING organized by the Perry Barr group last week was attended by over 130 people. Mr. John Burton opened the meeting by explaining to non-members the origin of the PPU and the absolute renunciation of war by its members.

The pacifist nature of the early Christians, and the incompatibility of Christianity and war, were stressed by the Rev. J. I. Jones.

Mr. Wilfred Wellock dealt with the economic and political causes of the present international situation. He demonstrated how the reactions to the slump of 1931, like the Ottawa Agreement, by increasing the monopolistic nature of the great empires prevented other nations from securing necessities because they were unable to sell. The financial and economic wars engendered by this ultimately became military wars.

From the Little Bromwich group comes an appeal for support from "all in this district who have the pacifist cause at heart." Owing to the emigration of members to other spheres the numbers are dwindling. Anyone interested should write to W. Judd (Group Leader), 79 Barrows Lane, South Yardley, Birmingham, 26.

Oxford Hears About Germany

THE monthly meetings of the Oxford City group last Thursday was addressed by Mr. R. H. C. Davis, who spoke on "The Truth About Germany." He supported his remarks with a considerable amount of news gathered during a recent visit there.

Mr. Davis outlined the gradual splitting of German integrity in an endeavour to stem the formation of a rival Power and giving rise to two separate divisions of the nation-political and cultural. Naturally the Germans resented this division and sought to restore it. Their support for Hitler was limited to the fulfilment of this promise.

Support for the argument that crises were often engineered by our own Government was illustrated by the fact that when, a short while ago, the newspapers declared that another crisis had arisen and war was imminent, the whole German army was on leave.

The business side of the meeting included the approval of a scheme to levy a subscription of 2s. 6d. per annum upon all members, one-third of the total amount collected to be treated as a subscription to headquarters.

Bournemouth is Busy

THE Bournemouth group is arranging a series of public meetings in the surrounding towns and villages, and it is hoped as a result to inaugurate several new groups. Eventually Bournemouth will be the centre of a region.

The group is holding a big demonstration in the town the same night (May 5) as the local MP is having a National Service Rally. Members are busy at present distributing 10,000 copies of "The Warning," and are also carrying out intensive selling of *Peace News*.

Sales Drive in Hull

HULL group has been affiliated to the No Conscription League and sent four delegates to the conference held in Leeds last Saturday. Members here are hoping to carry out poster parade and *Peace News* selling campaign. Several have volunteered to sell in the main street of the city on Saturday mornings and evenings.

They Came from the Four Corners!

THE following is the list of places from which delegates came to the second annual general meeting of the PPU:

Addiscombe, Alton, Aberystwyth, Abingdon, Abergavenny, Aberdeen (2 delegates), Aylesbury, Andover, Aberystwyth University, Ashford, Aberdare, Anfield, Allerton; Blackpool, Bristol University Pacifist Union, Burnley, Braintree, Barrhead, Barnet, Birmingham Council (2), Brant Broughton, Bishop Auckland, Bromley, Bolton Area Council, Bolton group, Bristol (Central Committee and Redhill), Barking, Birkenhead, Bournemouth, Bexley, Belfast, Buxton, Banstead, Blackburn (West Park), Blackburn (2), Barnehurst, Bexhill, Chalfonts and Gerrards Cross, Clacton, Corsham, Cardiff, Chesham, Cheltenham, Carshalton, Colchester, Cambridge (North and South-East), Carlisle, Cranbrook, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Coulsdon, Crawley, Coventry, Caerphilly, Camberwell North;

Didsbury, Dewsbury, Dundee, Darvel, Devon Area; Edmonton, Erdington, Eastleigh, Edgbaston, Edinburgh, Eastbourne, Edgware, Epsom, Exeter, Enfield West, Eccles;

Farncombe, Faversham; Gatley, Greenhithe and Swanscombe, Gravesend, Greenford, Gateshead, Gloucester, Great Horton, Grinstead (East), Gateshead, Glossop, Godalming, Glasgow (E.1, W.2, Rutherglen, Knightswood, S.2, Dennistown, Possilpark, N.W., S.W.2, Bridgeton, Bishopbriggs, Carntyne, Cambuslang);

Hall Green, Hazel Grove, Hounslow and district, Harpenden, Hayes, Haywards Heath, Hornsey, High Wycombe, Hull, Horfield (Upper), Huddersfield, Hoddesdon, Horsforth, Harrogate, Hastings, Hinxley, Harrow, Hillingdon, Hongkong, Hitchin, Hoylake and West Kirby, Haslemere;

Islington MPF, Ilford, Idle and Exxleshill, Ickenham, Ipswich;

Jordans and district; Kingston and Surbiton; Kettering, Kendal;

Letchworth, Leicester, Liverpool, Lancing, Liverpool (West Derby, Woolton, Sefton Park), Lincoln, Lancaster, Luton, Leeds, Longridge, Llanelly, Loughton, Londonderry, London (Edmonton, Oaklands, Maida Vale, New Southgate, Islington, Honor Oak Park, Muswell Hill, Sydenham, Hammersmith, Chelsea, Bermondsey, Blackheath, Lewisham, West Norwood, St. Martin's Bedford College, Guildhouse Group, Whetstone and Totteridge, Highbury, City of London, Clapham, South Norwood, N.W.9, Wood Green, Norbury, Gidea Park, Northwood, Wandsworth, Walthamstow and Highams Park, Streatham, Herne Hill, Brixton and Stockwell, Highgate, Golders Green, W.1, Ealing, Acton, Potters Bar, Wimbledon and Raynes Park, Fulham, Wembley, S. Kensington, Peckham, Croydon Central, Plaistow, N.1, Hampstead, S.W.1, Chingford, N. Camberwell, Finchley, Shadwell);

Malvern, Macclesfield, Mitcham, Maidenhead, Morden, Methyl, Leven and District, Motherwell, Marple, Moseley, Manchester, Marlborough;

Norwich, Northampton, Northfield, Nottingham (Central, Beeston, Mapperley, Woodthorpe, Sherwood, Hucknall, W. Bridgford), Newcastle (2), Newton Abbott, Nailsworth and Stroud;

Old Welwyn, Oxford, Oxford University Pacifist Assn., Oxted, Oswestry, Oldbury, Oldham; Pontyberem, Pontefract, Peterborough, Plymouth, Prestwich, Preston, Purley, Pinner, Putney;

Redruth, Richmond, Rugby, Reigate, Redhill and District, Rochester and Chatham, Rossendale, Reading, Rotherham, Rutherglen (Monro Church);

Salisbury, Shirley, Slough, Scarborough, Sheffield (2), Selsdon, Stoke-on-Trent, Sowerby Bridge, Sunderland, Swinton, Sudbury, Sparkhill, Swindon, Sanderstead, Southend-on-Sea, Stockport (Heaton Moor, Hall Street, and Woods-moor), St. Andrews;

Thornton Heath, Trowbridge, Torquay, Todmorden, Tonbridge;

Upminster, Urmston and district;

Virginia Water;

Worcester, Warlingham, Weybridge, Wolverton, Worthing, Welwyn Garden City, Wolverhampton, Wythenshawe, Woodford, West Wickham, Withington, Whalley Range, Wallington, Westhoughton, Wokingham, Woldingham, Worcester Park, Wrexham, Winchester, Whitehaven, Windermere, Welsh National Council, Watford, York.

Past and Present

Diplomats and Cabinet Ministers went to the premiere of *The Four Fathers* in London last week, and, according to the London Correspondent of the *Yorkshire Observer*, they were given "a surprise demonstration of public opinion."

After describing boos and hisses which greeted the news real showing the invasion of Albania, the applause for Jimmy Roosevelt, seen at the Farr fight, and the burst of tremendous clapping for his father, the London Correspondent continued:

"After all this moral emotion it was a little disturbing to notice that the main picture was about British military adventures and the glory of the thin red line in the Sudan."

Teachers hear Canon Morris in Llandudno

DURING the week that the National Union of Teachers was in conference in Llandudno Canon Stuart Morris addressed a meeting of the Peace Pledge Union there which attracted about 200 teachers and 150 others. Canon Morris thoroughly convinced his audience on his major points and had obviously the complete support of the majority present.

Llandudno is one of the towns in which a Peace Pledge Union group was inaugurated last September and there has been much activity there since.

What They Thought of the A.G.M.

A TASK LEFT UNDONE? "SACRIFICE AS NEVER BEFORE" THREE SUGGESTIONS

I DO feel that the time which was frittered away rather aimlessly could have been spent to greater advantage in considering a rational and concrete matter which was barely mentioned, namely, the wide distribution of the Peace Service Handbook shortly to be issued by the PPU.

This is a task not for a thousand enthusiasts who must give up everything, at a cost of £100,000, but for a hundred thousand ordinary men and women willing to work devotedly for peace in their spare time.

It is wrong to say (as Mr. Wray asserted) that we pacifists have not been doing anything. Typical of activity all over the country, readers of *Peace News* will have read the report of the intensive house-to-house propaganda campaign recently conducted by this branch. In addition to that we played a leading part in the East Lewisham Petition Committee, which collected 1,690 signatures; and I have still only begun to relate what we have been doing.

When I add that not five percent of our nominal membership can be relied upon to do (or give) anything, even attend meetings, it will be seen how busy the few active members have been. I mention only the place of which I have first hand knowledge, but a perusal of *Peace News* will indicate that many groups are doing as much or more.

We hope to deliver to every one of the more than twenty thousand houses in our area, a leaflet introducing the *Peace Service Handbook*, with coupon attached for a free copy of the handbook. (I will send a copy of the leaflet when printed to any one interested). This task has to be done during the summer in addition to open-air meetings, poster parades, &c., by twenty ordinary, busy, working-class people!

A. M. SIBUN.
Propaganda Secretary, Lewisham Branch.
45 Downhill Road,
Catford, S.E.6.

Let us go back to our groups determined loyally to abide by the new constitution, even though it may not be just what we might have wished ourselves, resolved that it shall serve only as a means to the more effective spreading of the spirit of the PPU.

If the new Council does not move quickly enough for us, mine's the blame for not backing them up as hard as I might in every way. They rely on each one of us writing to them, individually or as groups; ours is the fault if we feel out of touch, wherever we are.

Why is *Peace News* a liability instead of an asset? Simply because you and I have not done all we can to increase its sales. If our paper is not at all we feel it ought to be, let us read in constructive suggestions instead of negative criticisms.

What on earth were we doing constantly comparing ourselves with other organizations either in constitution or finance? Dick Sheppard did not start the PPU as an organization at all but intended it to be totally different from any such thing, and always insisted that it was nothing less than a venture of faith, in which so-called "sound finance" has no part.

We must each go back to our own localities resolved to try to atone for what we must confess was often a waste of time of the whole meeting and a needless strain on the inexhaustible and superhuman patience of our Chairman, by at least a doubling of all our contributions to Headquarters, and the provision of the cost of a brick in our new structure by any who have not yet done so.

Feeling thoroughly ashamed of our own share of responsibility for not having helped the meeting to rise to higher levels, you and I must now see to it that out of this tribulation is born a new determination to sink ourselves in the spirit of adventure and sacrifice for our cause as never before.

C. W. HOPE GILL.
2 The Lindens, Tusk Street,
Alton, Hants.

As a result of attendance at the AGM, I am aware of the existence of three factors in the organization of the PPU, which, being at present unrelated, are thereby sources of weakness. These three factors are:

(a) The low percentage of members who contribute anything to meet the heavy burden of expenditure entailed by the work of the PPU. That this is a serious weakness is obvious by the statement in the treasurer's report recording an overwhelming deficit for each of the last two years.

(b) The electoral system is not as representative as it could be. The difficulty of the postal ballot whereby every individual member, i.e., every signatory of the pledge, could register his vote, was explained by the chairman as being the heavy expense involved, the figure quoted being in the region of £400.

(c) The present method of keeping an up-to-date record of the membership, i.e., of signatories, as explained by the chairman, was to send letters to signatories, and in some cases a second or third letter was sent. No mention was made of the cost of this item, but I would judge that it must approximate to the same figure as given above, i.e., £400.

Now I would suggest that these three factors could easily be co-ordinated in such a way as to make a stronger and more satisfactory basis of our organization, on the following lines:—

1. That one letter should be sent each year to every individual member whose name is on the

then existing membership list.

2. That these letters could be sent either directly from headquarters or through areas, regions, or groups, according to the desired amount of decentralization.

3. That these letters should serve three purposes, by providing the means whereby (a) a reminder is made that the yearly subscriptions are due; (b) a yearly record of membership is obtained; (c) each member receives a ballot card.

The replies to these letters should be sent by every member, again either directly or through the groups, &c., and should contain personal particulars, viz., names and addresses, groups to which members are attached, &c., and also the subscriptions, and the ballot cards duly filled in.

By this means the necessary expenditure on these postal arrangements could be kept to a minimum, and at the same time would produce a maximum of effective result.

The above suggestions imply a belief in the need for a minimum subscription, but I would at the same time like to suggest a plan on the lines of the recommendation put forward by the Leeds group (page 10 of the Final agenda) whereby subscriptions of the unemployed could be paid either by groups or areas.

DORA I. HOLDEN.
60 Norbury Cross,
Norbury, S.W.16.

The outstanding feature of the AGM to my mind was the proposition by Kenneth Wray of Hastings for the forming of a Peace Army.

This expresses the spirit of the PPU and most certainly of its founder.

I would therefore urge all sincere pacifists to consider this question and, what is equally important, prepare for speedy action.

Personally I am willing to volunteer both service and financial resources to the uttermost.

E. WHITE
(Coalville PPU).
Sunny Dale,
Broom Leys Avenue,
Coalville.

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

DUNDEE, 7.30 p.m. Chalmers Church Halls; Angus Region Social Rally; J. D. McLean, Dr. C. Coulson and A. Christie (chairman); PPU.

LONDON, W.1; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Chinese speaker on "China Today"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

MALTON; 2.30 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Stanley Sweet, Martin Dakin, Iris Westerdale and Rev. Stanley Thompson; followed by poster parade; PPU.

WOLVERTON; 2.45 p.m. The Technical College; debate; B. N. Langdon Davies, S. F. Markham and G. Hall (chairman); Workers' Educational Association.

LONDON, E.C.3; 3.30 p.m. Talbot House, 42 Trinity Square; annual meeting of London Union Fellowship of Reconciliation; Wilfred Wellock.

LONDON, W.12; 8 p.m. Oaklands Congregational Church, Uxbridge Road; John Barclay; PPU; meeting for signatories, 7 p.m.

Sunday, April 30

HASLEMERE; 3 p.m. Brooke Hall, Wey Hill; one-day school; Roy Walker, Andrew Stewart and G. Cutcliffe (chairman); Workers' Educational Association and International Friendship League.

HYDE PARK; 3 p.m. Open-air meeting; details from D. Hill, 127, Uxbridge Road, London, W.12.

Monday, May 1

WEST HAM; 2.30 p.m. Central Mission; Miss Mary Gamble; PPU.

SPARKHILL, Birmingham; 3 p.m. Congregational Church; women's meeting; John Barclay; PPU.

UPPER PRIORY, Birmingham; 7.30 p.m. James H. Hudson. Rev. H. Ingle James and Wilfred Wellock; No Conscription League.

BRENTWOOD; 8 p.m. Congregational Church School Room, South Street; debate between local branches of PPU and Labour Party on policy of the PPU; speakers for PPU: Miss M. Thomas and Douglas Wollen; chairman: C. L. J. Fox; PPU.

Tuesday, May 2

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Canon Stuart Morris; City PPU group.

BROMSGROVE, Birmingham; 3 p.m. Co-operative Rooms, High Street; John Barclay; Women's Co-operative Guild.

LONDON, W.C.2; 6.30 p.m. 9 Hop Gardens, St. Martin's Lane; Miss Winifred Antill on "The Work of the Peace Army"; St. Martin-in-the-Fields Pacifist Group.

Referees' Support for Employers

(continued from p. 1)

to do anything of a military nature or to take an active part in ARP preparations. He was only asked to carry out an exercise similar to precaution against fire.

The Insured Contributors' representative dissents and says that the claimant was justified in his action, because he is a pacifist, belongs to the PPU, and is going against his principles in carrying out ARP drill. He notified the foreman of his intention before the drill.

The fact is, of course, that Mr. Bayntun was asked to participate in evacuation drill, involving the use of shelters!

Mr. Bayntun told the court that as soon as he had received intimation of the forthcoming drill he had quietly told his foreman that, as a pacifist, he could not conscientiously participate.

When the employees were summoned to the drill, Mr. Bayntun continued at his job. Later he was summoned by the manager, and dismissed.

While Mr. Bayntun did not dispute the right of the firm to dismiss him if they chose, he maintained that there was no justification for denying him benefit.

The Court decided otherwise, and now Mr. Bayntun's case goes to the Umpire for final adjudication.

Serious Implications

The serious implications of this decision for pacifists throughout the country are obvious.

In a recent letter to Stuart Morris, Chairman of the PPU, the Lord Privy Seal's Office stated that

"Any action by employers calculated to undermine the essentially voluntary character of the scheme would be entirely inconsistent with the policy of the Government, and with the explicit assurance given by Sir John Anderson in the House of Commons."

The statement covered all forms of recruiting, including that for "civil defence." It is worthy of note that on being confronted with this statement, the Chairman of the Court of Referees dismissed it as irrelevant. The PPU and the National Council for Civil Liberties are not allowing the matter to rest here.

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HEALTH AND MEDICAL

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitticom), health practitioner, osteopath, bone-setter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth (Letchworth 885).

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KINGSTON, EDINBURGH. The Fountainhead of Modern Nature Cure (Health Home and Training Centre). Under the personal supervision of James G. Thomson. Particulars from the Secretary, Kingston, Edinburgh, 9.

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How to Spend That £630,000,000

(continued from p. 1)

colonial territories out of imperialist control and developing self-government among their inhabitants.

This course could now be taken, since the process of substituting co-operation and sharing for domination and monopoly was being worked out. In calling for these committees, the British Government would have given an undertaking to shoulder whatever sacrifices the new policy might involve for this country.

Now it is that policy which a pacifist Budget would seek to support. That Budget would be the test of the Government's faith in its policy, and the evidence to the outside world of the measure of that faith.

The Government would, therefore, of necessity have to support its constructive policy by completely disarming, since semi-disarmament is not defence and proves lack of faith. I am aware that complete disarmament would be physically impossible within a year, but for the sake of clarity I will suppose that it was. I propose to make some suggestions as to what that first peace Budget might do.

The Peace Budget

In this first peace Budget I would not increase taxation, but should hope to do that later on, as the sense of security due to the new policy strengthened. But I should not reduce taxation, since there is no defence for refusing to spend as much on trying to increase the happiness and security of mankind by pacifist as by militarist methods.

The problem for the pacifist is thus how to spend £630,000,000 we can now well afford to spend upon military defence.

Of that sum, £250,000,000 is to come out of revenue, and, £380,000,000 from loans. The amount we are justified in spending, therefore, is £250,000,000 plus the interest and sinking fund charges on the armaments loans now in operation, which charges would come to about £30,000,000 per year, thus giving us a total sum of £280,000,000. I suggest using that sum in the following ways:—

	£ Millions
Remission of the tax on Tea, Coffee, Cocoa and Sugar	23
Remission of the tax on Entertainment	8
Abolition of duties due to new international policy	20
Extension of Nursery Schools, Raising School-age to 16 with maintenance grants, but giving greater liberty to scholars regarding their curricula	10
To higher pensions, to apply at 60 years to those who would like to retire from paid service	80
To assist in the conversion of industry from war to peace production	10
As a gesture, the gift of 1 lb. of butter to every German family and to every British family	2

These items would swallow up £163,000,000, thus leaving £117,000,000.

I now enter a very different field, that of large-scale development expenditure. This expenditure I would divide into two sections, national and municipal.

Multiply Social Amenities

The national section would control schemes of development which lay outside normal municipal work, such as land draining and clearing and land reclamation, the transformation of slag heap areas in mining and iron districts, the cutting of canals, barrage schemes, such as that proposed for the Severn. All such schemes are today held up for want of money.

Most of that expenditure should come from loans, since the money at our disposal is an annual sum and could be used to pay the interest and sinking fund charges on no less a capital sum than £4,000,000,000.

The same principle would apply to municipal works, which could be on a scale hitherto undreamt of. Our municipal architects could be brought in to transform the face of the country, multiply our social amenities a hundredfold.

Many other details flow into my mind, but I prefer to present a more general view in the first instance.

I am convinced that a Budget on these lines, in support of a policy which would develop in the international sphere the spirit and practice of co-operation, and the general well-being which this Budget would develop in the national sphere, would inspire a vision and a hope which no military power could quench.

Wilfred Wellock

A Pacifist Commentary

Betrayal of the Unknown Warrior Britain's Two-Faced Policy Threat to India

THIS has been a sort of unofficial "conscription and National Service" week.

It opened with Mr. Churchill's and Mr. Duff Cooper's statements on Monday that compulsory National Service was probable before long; and gained momentum on Tuesday with extensive press advertising "by a non-party, non-political group of ex-Service men"; and seemed likely to reach its crescendo on Wednesday with an announcement by the Premier that the Cabinet had decided to introduce some form of compulsory service.

The group of ex-Service men appeared to have had the assistance of advertising experts; in each national paper appeared their whole-page advertisement, accompanied by a picture of the Cenotaph. They were animated, they said, "by the spirit of the Unknown Warrior."

That spirit, we should have thought, was the spirit expressed in the phrase "Never Again." This time, however, "the Unknown Warrior speaks to his own generation," and the words put into the mouth of this representative of those who died that wars might cease are—"Serve Again." Could there be a greater distortion of the ideal in defence of which so many of the dead made their sacrifice?

The final travesty of the truth in one of the advertisements was the statement that "Britain's strength is Humanity's Hope." "Tell that," one feels tempted to say, "to the Arabs, to the West Indian masses, or to India's millions."

First Instalment

AS for the straightforward campaign for conscription, with its sources of inspiration largely in France, though the Government's scheme will not affect millions, it will be the thin end of the conscription wedge, and will meet the wishes of the many Frenchmen who desire Great Britain to give "a gesture" which, according to *The Times*, "will do more than anything else to impress upon all the world that there are no limits to British readiness."

One French newspaper used the typical argument that in the event of trouble in the Mediterranean leading to a general conflict, the line of the North Sea and English Channel will be menaced, and adds:

"It would be defended—and well defended—by the French army. But by the French army alone—or almost?"

"We are told that Mr. Winston Churchill has spoken in favour of conscription in England. But Mr. Chamberlain has not spoken of it. He had doubtless excellent reasons for that, of which one was the need to 'manage' the Opposition. But this Opposition is the first to call for 'firmness, still more firmness, firmness all the time.'"

From which one can gather the line the Government will take in persuading the

Labour Party of the need for compulsory service. What, then, will become of that party's frequently reiterated opposition to conscription?

Hitler's Reply

THE diplomatic activity following President Roosevelt's message to the dictators has been conducted with an eye on the calendar, for today (Friday) is "zero hour."

The past fortnight has seen a tug-of-war between the Axis Powers and the leading "democracies" for the support of the smaller nations. Upon Hitler's success in this hasty lining up will depend the tone of his reply today to President Roosevelt. Hitler's own messages to the nations which Mr. Roosevelt asked him to promise not to attack were designed accordingly, and he will doubtless make use of some of the replies in his speech.

The British Government looks upon the American President's initiative as a warning and an opportunity, is accordingly trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Sir Neville Henderson has returned to his post as British Ambassador in Berlin, and is credited with the task of bringing home to Germany's rulers the British Government's determination to resist further aggression, and to persuade them of the opportunity offered by President Roosevelt's message.

Another Munich?

THE Berlin correspondent of *The Times* reported on Tuesday that it was asked in that capital "whether Sir Neville Henderson may not have been sent here to anticipate demand by Herr Hitler on Friday that the democracies should prove to him that questions such as colonies, Danzig, and the Polish Corridor can be settled by negotiation instead of force." This suggests an attempt to persuade Hitler that the moment is ripe for another "Munich."

On the other hand, the Government's determination to resist further aggression will be interpreted in Germany as an example of British readiness to check German aspirations by force of arms. Indeed, German newspapers, in preparing the ground for Hitler's speech, have already been talking of the "war-mongering" foreign press.

The preparations for the speech have also had repercussions in the Far East. The Japanese Government has been deliberating over the future form and scope of the anti-Comintern Pact; upon the result of those deliberations depends whether Hitler will be able to announce that in any conflict the Japanese fleet will not remain neutral. In this connexion it is noteworthy that the *East Asia News Service*, generally pro-Japanese, has been suggesting that Japan may desert the Axis.

Dictatorship in India

A BILL to impose dictatorship in India in wartime, which had so far had no attention from the press, came up for its second reading in the House of Lords on Tuesday.

Entitled the India and Burma (Miscellaneous Amendments) Bill, its result would be to deprive the Indian people of any opportunity of deciding

whether, or in what way, they would co-operate in war measures. It seeks to use the manpower and resources of India without the consent of her people.

Such liberty as British India now has would be lost. It would add a new section to the India Act providing for the emergency powers of the Governor-General to be exercised when by Proclamation he "has declared that the security of India is threatened by war."

After all the talk in Britain of India's progress to self-government, such a measure is a serious retrogression, and the apparent desire to hasten its passage through Parliament and to avoid controversy is significant. The India League yesterday held a meeting to inform public opinion on the subject, and it is to be hoped that the Bill will not become law without the Government's intentions being challenged.

National Register of Solicitors

A SOLICITOR writes:

In a recent issue of the *Gazette of the Law Society*, which represents the solicitors' branch of the legal profession, it was announced that the society had decided to set up a register of all solicitors on the Roll, in the belief that the profession desired to afford the authorities the fullest possible support in a state of "national emergency."

A questionnaire has now been issued asking solicitors about their personal qualifications, National Service activities, military experience, type of work undertaken, and conditions of practice.

In a covering letter, the President of the Law Society states: "Enrolment on this register . . . in no sense absolves solicitors from their imperative duty to enrol under the National Service scheme."

The legal profession is highly susceptible to the call to duty, but those solicitors who recognize a greater duty to the world as a whole will not hesitate to show that at least the profession is not unanimous as to the desirability either of National Service or of the proposed register.

"The Warning" Newcastle Protest

A DRAMATIC protest by a local pacifist startled the audience who went last week to the Haymarket Theatre, Newcastle, to hear Sir John Anderson and to see the National Service recruiting film, *The Warning*.

The protester was Mr. John Morley, who is a member of the Heston group of the PPU.

"Are you going to lower yourselves by horrors such as these to do things which in a calm moment you would not contemplate?" he challenged, at the close of Sir John's address.

"Is this the best way of settling international disputes?"

"When acts such as these have happened the only reply is: 'Go thou and do likewise.' The sufferings and depredations we have seen are also being inflicted by our armed might upon the innocent people of an enemy country." (Some applause.)

"Such things," continued Mr. Morley, "can and must be prevented. Compel your political leaders to insist upon a better way of settling international disputes."

"There is yet time."

Mr. Morley was then asked to leave. Subsequently he explained that it was physically impossible for him to leave the cinema without protesting in some way.

Throughout the week's run of the film, the Haymarket Theatre was the scene of a counter-campaign by the Newcastle Branch of the Peace Pledge Union.

Anderson on Right to Refuse Gas Masks

FOLLOWING information of an attempt by an air-raid warden to compel a pacifist to accept a gas-mask, Canon Stuart Morris, of the Peace Pledge Union wrote to Sir John Anderson questioning the warden's authority for saying that a man must take the mask or, if he refused, must sign a paper saying that he refused.

The Minister's secretary replied:

"Sir John Anderson desires me to inform you that there is no statutory provision which makes it an offence to refuse to accept a gas mask or to refuse to sign a statement such as you mention."

"So far from its being the intention to compel the acceptance of a respirator, the circular (July 6, 1938) issued to local authorities concerning the distribution of respirators draws attention to the fact that refusals may be met with and recommends that in this event wardens should merely note the fact, recording the probable sizes of the respirators which persons concerned would need."

P.P.U. Groups Formed in India

Two groups of the Peace Pledge Union have been formed at Jammu and Srinagar, in the State of Kashmir, India.

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